

THE INDIAN WORLD

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ILLUSTRATION :

India the Mother (in three colours).

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
THE CHERRY PRESS
121, Dhurumtolla Street, Calcutta



INDIA THE MOTHER

THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. V]

MARCH & APRIL, 1907

[Nos. 24 & 25

REVIVAL OR REFORM ?

I

'How did the Pope go to Avignon ?' says a European proverb. '*En protestant*'—as a protestant.

Even the Pope, then, in face of a usurper, may, till he is reinstated, act the part of a protestant. Even a Hindu, in a similar place, may call himself a reformer. It would be sad, however, if the Pope, in love with the attitude of a protestor, were permanently tinged with the originality and discontent of that character. The great church of which he is the head, divided thus against herself, could no long stand intact under the blows that would then be dealt her by her chief pastor. And similarly of the reformer. The work of reform is always limited in any given direction, and nothing can be more mischievous than the temper of the professional reformer.

One reform there indeed is, which may be pursued day and night, in season and out of season, but this is the reform effected by pure ideas. The same universality does not belong to reform proper, that is to say, to the displacement of one institution by another. Never, for instance, can we sufficiently realise, never can any sufficiently aid us to realise, the highest ideal of faithfulness in woman. But who could presume to dictate to another the form in which this should be pursued ? Picture the folly of one who tried to force the exclusive imitation of the Blessed Virgin on unwilling followers in the East, or that of Sita on equally reluctant disciples in the West ! Imagine the disastrous removal of all familiar exemplars in order to spread submission to the ideal of the preacher. It is clear that the result would be moral and social chaos. Only the pure idea, the concept of faith and purity itself, can be universal. The form must always be of localised application. Only the crusader of the ideal, then, can claim

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passports without limitation. The rights of the reformer of institutions are definite, and have a beginning and an end.

It follows that the ideal itself binds together both reforming and unreforming. For if it be universal, it must be common to these two. In the great ends of human striving, the orthodox and the modern are at one. Both alike are struggling to reach the ideal. Both alike recognise good as good and evil as evil. We may take it, however, that the reformer is often one who understands the reality of a need to which the rest of his society is blind. The members of the Arya Somaj, for instance, are admirably sane in their attitude towards the waters of baptism. It would be well if Orthodox Hinduism could see as far. How shall they in whose veins flows the blood of the rishis be permanently contaminated by a Christian ablution? It is perhaps strange that those who talk most of the rishis should attribute least of saving efficacy to their kinship. Orthodox Hinduism will lose a great deal, in this hour of a deepening nationalism, if she can find no way to take back her Christianised children, who seek reconciliation with their own mother.

We are usually very one-sided in our perceptions. All the world must prostrate itself in admiration before women who were capable of performing *suttee*. But Rammohan Roy was indubitably right when he took any means that lay to his hand to forbid women in future that liberty. The patriot admires the heroic wifehood and admires also the lion-hearted reformer. Hinduism has appropriated, in this matter, the labours of the agitator. Hindus know well that his stern prohibition must be eternally enforced. They hold only that in his person,—original as was his impulse, national as was his whole upbringing,—it should be recognised that a Hindu, and not foreigners, put an end to the custom. Rammohan Roy's was the apostolate. The response of his own people was the sanction. All that foreigners contributed was the assistance of the police, on definite occasions.

This is indeed the mode of all social progression. Custom grows rigid or becomes exaggerated. Protest arises in the person of seer or saint or teacher, and society opens her arms, embraces her rebel son, and takes her stand henceforth on that wider basis which his work has built for her.

Or to put it otherwise, a healthy reform-group represents an experiment in the laboratory of social growth. The Brahmo Somaj in Bengal may be looked upon as a community segregating itself from orthodox society for the purpose of working out

certain results that were requisite to that society itself. It was desirable to show that Hinduism was capable of offering all that Christianity could offer in the religious life and organisation, without de-nationalism. The tragedy of Christianity in India is its imperialistic character. It may be quite true that the underdog is not always in the right,—still, no self-respecting under-dog will wag his tail over the upper dog's statement of his own ideals ! But congregational worship, the weekly sermon, the Sunday-school, and the mutual aid of sectarian organisation, were undoubtedly valuable contributions to the social side of religious activity.

On the purely human side, again, by opening society to women, Brahmoism silently made the important assertion that men stand or fall by their obedience to as high a moral standard as is required of their wives and sisters. Henceforth, in fine Indian society, men must be ashamed to associate even with men, if these should be unfit for the finer tests imposed by the company of good women. The beautiful old reverence of the orthodox for womanhood was not lost, the exquisite reserve of the Indian householder, guarding the privacy of his home, remained. Only for those who were proved worthy of the honour, there was now opened a social sanctum where fine men might meet good women and make an exchange of courtesy and thought.

Freedom as to food and marriage did not mean the transcending of all social limitations. The Brahmo appears to the outsider to be as much a man of his own class as any other. But wherever he may have come from, he belongs to a caste now, that is determined by its education, and any newcomer may join it, by reaching the required development.

Work and citizenship, meanwhile, were being realised as religious avocations. Only in some such way could a great public life be built up. New types were being prepared, and channels opened, at the same time, for their social activity. The Brahmo who has travelled far to find knowledge is invited, on his return, to share his treasure with his own people, and amongst Indian religious sects I know of no other in Calcutta who can invite every distinguished stranger who visits the city to come and tell his tale of knowledge to a full house.

The Pope went to Avignon as a protestant True. But he came back. And when he did return, it was as good Catholic, glad to be at home, in familiar places, glad to be freed from the necessity of protesting against anything. So of reforms in general. A good deal of dust is stirred up by their inception. A good

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deal of antagonism and mutual conflict is required, at first, partly to weed the ranks of recruits who might not be helpful. But in the end there assuredly comes a time when the pioneer-stage of the labour is ended. Then a new duty arises on both sides. On society it is incumbent to appropriate consciously all that the social experiment has achieved and evolved. On the reformers it is desirable to draw closer the bonds that unite them to the old fold, and to sun themselves once more in those communal thoughts and sentiments from which, for awhile, they were necessarily isolated.

Then arise fresh and still more living ideals. The divided consciousness of conservatism on one side and new-moulding on the other gives place to the sense of a great task of upbuilding to be performed in common. Men realise that they are after all but the children of their own fathers ; that, could they reach the fullest significance of their own institutions, the achievement would be tantamount to the most perfect reform. The radical sees that his own moral fervour and love of integrity were handed down to him from his orthodox forbears, who must have been to the full as good men as himself. The orthodox man, on his side, realises that a mere religion of the kitchen could never represent *Dharma*. Instead of casting stones at others for their errors of sympathy, it is his duty to widen his own activity. The Brahmo is no longer to be blamed for abandoning the ancient forms of caste, and neither is the orthodox to rest content with his own petrification of custom. For Nationality has arisen, as the goal of all sections of society alike, and side by side must work brothers of all shades of opinion, of all forms of energy, for the re-creating of the *Dharma*, for the building anew, in the modern world, of *Maha-Bharata*, Heroic India.

II

Our watchword, then, is no longer 'Reform !' In its place, we have taken the word 'Construct !' We have to re-create the *Dharma*. We have to build again the *Maha-Bharata*. It was said that the church and its protestants, society and the reformer, are now to exchange achievements and become fused once more. For, after all, Humanity is greater than any church. Society was made for Man, not Man for Society.

But even reunion must have a principle of unity, clearly seen, deeply and definitely followed out. As long as this is lacking, schism and reconciliation alike are but vague driftings, erratic, unreliable. Even the most comprehensive group must have its impulse, its reasons, its goal. The modern sects have shown by facts how useful are the four walls of the congregation to its

members. The world of modern India is a tournament, and many are the knights who tilt in it. True. But each one of them began in some smaller world, as part of a limited society. Here he trained himself, first as page, and then as horse-and-swordsman. And here, too, in some higher reach of it, he kept vigil all night over his future arms, and received the accolade and spurs that were to fit him for the contests of the wider world without. Where did each of those men who belong now to the whole Indian world find the smaller play-ground of his preparation ? This man, undoubtedly, in school or college ; another yonder, in village, estate, or kingdom ; still a third in the office or at professional work ; a fourth amongst his fellows in religion. A society or a nation is rich morally and socially in proportion to the number of institutions it possesses, which offer distinct and well-graduated steps of evolution to their aspirants. A country or a race that is robbed of all chief appointments in Government, in railway organisation, in administration of great offices and departments, in the activities of shipping and transport, that has no trading organisation of her own, available for her most educated classes, a country or a race that is not consciously making experiments, and coming to conclusions of its own, in agriculture, in commerce, in literature, in art, in science, in public works, in private comfort and utility, in social amelioration, such a country, such a race, is by this fact deprived of thousands of schools of manly character and human development.

It is essential, then, that a rich efflorescence of such opportunities be produced. It is essential that the best brains of the race be set to the task. Every industry created, every factory established, however insignificant it may appear in itself, is a school of manhood, an academy where shrewdness and responsibility and integrity are to be studied in the lesson-book of experience, an *ashrama* where young souls may ascend the first steps of the ladder towards *rishihood*. The task is—the creating of a nation to take possession of its country. The men are to be produced by hard experience. The method is to be unity. But where is this unity to be learnt ? The reformers have taught us the value of the fixed congregation that takes a pride in the achievements of its own members. But it could not be expected, it could not even be desired, that the body of the orthodox should drift into the camp of the heretics. How, then, can they appropriate the results of their experiments ? It could not be asked that the reformers should return to the city from which for conscientious reasons they set out, and abandon

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in the eyes of the world all for which, in the past, they have fought. Where, then, are the two parties to meet and confer together? Where are they to attack the common problem in common? Where and round what standard are they to assert their unity?

The answer is simple. *They are to meet on the common ground of place.* For rebuilding the *Maha-Bharata*, the village is to be the work-room. The city is the factory. The whole country is the site of the new building. In all that concerns the interests of India the neighbours are Indians, willing to avail themselves of all that can be learnt, from far or near, ready to obey any one, whatever his personal convictions on other subjects, who has the strength and wisdom necessary to lead. Nor is this any despairing counsel of perfection. To an enormous extent it is true in India that good neighbourhood creates good feeling. The visitor coming to the city is received and entertained by representatives of all factions and all opinions. This is true of India as perhaps of no other country in the world. So far from there being any colour of truth in the statement that she has been "hopelessly divided and sub-divided for thousands of years," the very reverse is the case. We do not regard the garden as divided against itself, because the flowers in it are of many different hues. Nor is India divided. She has, on the contrary, unfathomed depths of potentiality for common civic organisation, for united corporate action. But she must understand that she has this power. She must look at her own strength. She must learn to believe in herself. The power of steam is not a whit greater to-day, though it drives the railway engine and the ship, than it was of old, when it merely made the cover rattle over the pot where the rice was cooking. Steam is not more powerful than it was. *But man has recognised its power.* Similarly, we may stand paralysed in all our strength for ages, all for want of knowing that we had that strength. After we have faced the fact, there still remains the problem of how to control and use it. And long vision is not given in this kind to any of us. Only now and then, for hard prayer and struggle, do the mists blow to one side a little, letting us for a moment, catch a glimpse of the mountain-path. Yet, without recognition of our strength, there can be no possible question of using it. Without right thought, there cannot possibly be right action. To us, then, the recognition; to us, the thought. India is not divided and sub-divided in any effective sense of those words. She is not divided in any way that could possibly hinder the working out of a great common nationality. We are working comrades, not because we speak the

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

same language or believe the same creeds. Should I cease to be the brother of my own mother's son because he went abroad and learnt a foreign tongue, or took up the worship of *Mahadeo* instead of that of *Vishnu* or *Parthasarathy*? We are working comrades on no basis so limited as that of creed or language, which after all, would limit us geographically to a province and spiritually to a single line of development. We are working comrades *because we are Indians*, children of a single roof tree, dwellers around one bamboo clump. Our task is one, the rebuilding of Heroic India. To this every nerve and muscle of us tingle with response. Who so foolish as to imagine that a little political petting and pampering can make half a nation forget its kinship with the other half? Nonsense! We are one! We have not to become one. We *are* one. Our sole need is to *learn to demonstrate our unity*.

Nivedita of R.K. V.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT AND THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

The progress of the Swadeshi movement within the last year and a half has been almost phenomenal. It has given considerable impetus to industrial expansion. Indeed our countrymen embarked on so many new ventures last year that it may well rank as a record year for indigenous enterprise.

The movement, however, is as yet without any organisation whatever. A number of small societies have sprung up in Calcutta and elsewhere which have for its object the dissemination of the Swadeshi cult. But their plan of operation consists almost entirely of fervid appeals to patriotism. That such appeals are effective to some extent is unquestionable; and they should not only be continued, but their sphere of operations should be widened so far as possible. For various reasons, however, if they are depended upon as the sole agency for the spread of Swadeshism, it is not likely to make much headway among the great mass of our people. It will be a long time before the sentiment of patriotism permeates through the thick and dense strata of our illiterate proletariat; and when it does, such sacrifice as is now demanded for the propagation of Swadeshism would put it to a very severe strain because of their poverty. They are far too poor to be permanently effected by any appeal which requires them to buy in any but the cheapest market. It is not their poverty alone which stands in the way. The Santals

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the Gonds and other aborigines in out of the way places, not as yet tapped by railways, are the best customers we have of indigenous articles. The coarse, strong, durable hand-made cloths and blankets still hold their own in such places, and the occupation of the primitive iron-smelter is not altogether gone there. But, with the extension of railways, western civilisation is insinuating itself into those places. It usually consists of nothing else but a taste for cheap showy fineries and trinkets, for more apparel than what had hitherto kept them in decency and comfort, and perhaps also for cigarette-smoking. Thus there is effected an abrupt change of fashion and a promotive rise in the standard of living which, suddenly creating a multiplicity of wants to which they were strangers before, intensifies their poverty without substantially adding to their comfort or benefiting them physically and morally.

The function of Swadeshism is to protect infant industries against foreign competition, to nurse them until they are able to stand upon their own legs. It would be as detrimental to industrial development to continue this protection beyond a certain stage as it would be to keep a full grown man in swaddling clothes. So protection must be discriminating and systematic. It must be based upon clear, well-defined principles. In fact, it may sometimes do more harm than good if it be given in a casual, haphazard fashion as is the practice now.

A combination of business and patriotism is rather rare ; and I am not sure if it is always desirable. Capitalists, merchants and other business men are seldom actuated by patriotic considerations in business concerns. This was made manifest, almost painfully so, when the *furor* for Swadeshism was at its height in Bengal about the close of the year 1905. No foreigner could have driven harder bargains than did some of our mill-owners ; and the fabrics of our Indian mills were sold at exorbitant prices—prices which must have put the patriotism of the Bengalis to severe test, especially as they were in the midst of a severe scarcity. Nor was this all. Foreign manufactures were not unoften palmed off as indigenous, at prices which the latter only could command. It is said that every trade has its tricks. But there are tricks which pass all legitimate bounds and partake of the nature of knavery in a most pronounced manner. The question arises, to what extent and at what sacrifice is preference to be given to indigenous manufactures and how are the rogueries of knavish tradesmen to be put down ? At present the settlement of such questions is left to individual discretion and effort—a settlement which can never be efficacious.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

It can hardly be urged that the Germans, the French, the Canadians, the Australians, and the United States people are less patriotic than our countrymen. But, they would not leave the protection of their industries to individual patriotism. They foster and develop their industries by tariffs and bounties. The adoption of such measures by our Government is, of course, out of the question. The Swadeshi movement should, therefore, be so organised as to perform, in some measure at least, the work which in other civilized countries is done by their Governments.

That is very difficult work, indeed ; but work the accomplishment of which is well worth a great united effort. There should be a central Swadeshi organisation for the whole of India with a branch for every province, a committee for every district, and ultimately a sub-committee for every important subdivision of a district. It would have to settle what industries should be protected, and in what way and for how long. Manufacturers who are not in a position to compete on equal terms with their foreign rivals should, if they are deserving, be enabled to do so by judicious grants. These grants should not be of an *elemosynary* character but should be made on strictly business principles. Large funds will, of course, be needed. How they are to be raised is a question which is so very difficult and complex that I can not attempt to discuss it in a short paper like this. Patriotically-disposed persons will no doubt undergo self-sacrifice and open their purse-strings as they are doing now. But sole or even main reliance should not be placed upon them.

Since the introduction of English education in this country, some form or other of self-government has naturally presented itself to our countrymen as the goal of their political aspirations ; and the reforming energies of the National Congress have ever since its inauguration been directed towards it. The attainment of the goal, however, does not appear yet to be quite within a measurable distance of time. But, the promulgation and execution of a well considered *Swadeshi* industrial policy on a comprehensive scale presents a field of self-government which is to a great extent within our reach, and which is well calculated to advance not only the material but also the intellectual welfare of our countrymen to a very high degree.

The National Congress is without any constitution as yet. There has of late, however, been some talk of organising it ; and it would, I venture to suggest, be well to organise it so as to embrace the *Swadeshi* work which I have briefly outlined above

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within its sphere of operations. The Congress at its last session passed a Resolution, according its "most cordial support to the *Swadeshi* movement" and calling "upon the people of the country to labour to promote its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and encourage the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities." A similar Resolution was passed at the last previous session of the Congress, and, I have no doubt, will be passed at the next one also. A Resolution like this now, when the principle of *Swadeshism* has been almost universally accepted, will have little more than an academic interest. It does not go far, not much farther than what Governors and other high-placed officers have of late been exhorting us to do, I think the time has arrived when the Congress leaders should begin to consider whether it would not be well to propound, and to try to carry out a scheme to give practical effect to the *Swadeshi* Resolution.

If the talk about the constitution of the Congress does not crystallise into action in the near future, or if it be not practicable to induce *Swadeshi* work such as I have roughly indicated above within its sphere of operations, it would, I think, be necessary to discuss and formulate a *Swadeshi* scheme at the next session of the Industrial Conference. In fact, the subject comes more naturally within the province of that Conference than of the Congress.

Pramathanath Bose

DEMON-WORSHIP AND WITCHCRAFT IN SOUTHERN INDIA

It is well known to all that sorcery and witchcraft are closely interwoven with the life of the Indian. Perhaps, it may not be generally known that the black art flourishes to a great extent in Southern India and especially on the West Coast. In fact, Kerala, comprising Malabar, Travancore and Cochin, is the stronghold of sorcery and witchcraft. The average Malayalee Keralan is superstitious to the very highest degree ; he considers himself to be always under the influence of some devil or other, (the number of devils and demigods on the West Coast is legion) and every house in Kerala has a temple dedicated to the patron devil of the family. In this country, the place of honour is given by the superstitious Malayalee to the imp *Kuttichathen*, who is considered by him to be the most mischievous and frightful of demons. This imp is about three feet

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high, with hair all over the body and capable of any mischief. He is the most dreaded of all and manifests his displeasure in a thousand ways. Primarily, he begins with throwing stones over the house of the man under his displeasure. If steps are not taken immediately after the preliminary stages of the manifestation of his displeasure, it is said the consequences generally are very violent. The removal of children and the mysterious appearance of rubbish and human excretions in rice, when being cooked for the family meal, are said to be some of these consequences. The present writer was once the eye-witness of the practical mischiefs of *Kuttichathen* ; and the family which had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the imp had, at great cost, to appease him through a pacificatory ceremony under the guidance of a man well-versed in sorcery. I may incidentally mention that *Kuttichathen* was the subject of a series of correspondence in the columns of a Madras paper and that over one foreign missionary has testified to the existence of such a demi-god.

It is said that every sorcerer has a devil or demigod under his command to do his wishes and carry out his commands. To get mastery over a devil or a demigod, it is said, one has to undergo severe trials. Keeping vigils, incessantly uttering the name of the devil or the demigod he wishes to subdue, in crematories and lonely jungles, is the primary duty of a man who aspires to become a sorcerer. On the forty-first day of the vigil, the devil will present himself to the candidate who aspires to take the degree of honours in sorcery and surrender himself to the latter. A sorcerer who has already one devil at his command generally aspires to exercise sovereignty over another. This can only be enjoyed after a great trouble. It is said that the demon whom the sorcerer wishes to captivate will generally ask the candidate to fetch inaccessible and impossible things as a proof that he is sincere and capable of doing anything. They say that such candidates generally meet their demand through the aid of the devil already under his command. It is said that a sorcerer is even able to entice away married women, though they may be kept under lock and key, and it is still the custom in rural Kerala to incessantly mount guard at nights over the beds and rooms of women in delicate condition for fear of their being enticed away by sorcerers.

Needless to say, sorcerers are held in dread by the Kerala folk ; no man will dare to give him the least offence, the least offence, it is said, being fraught with serious results to the offender. The sorcerer is requisitioned on every occasion by the over-awed West coastmen ; whenever a man falls sick, (the Kerala man attributes

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sickness to the influence of devils), a baby is troublesome or cries incessantly at nights, a husband loses the confidence of his wife or a wife that of the husband, the sorcerer is called in. Kerala sorcerers have emigrated to other parts of India and the writer personally knows half-a-dozen Malabar sorcerers carrying on a roaring trade in Bengal.

There is a distinct caste on the West Coast, called the Panans, among whom exorcism, sorcery and witchcraft are hereditary occupations ; and there are sorcerers even among the Kerala Christians. From this it must not be understood that sorcerers are not met with among Brahmins and other higher castes, but the high caste sorcerers exercise their influence through those demigods who have a higher status among the gods of the pantheon and the lower castes exercise the same influence through Kali and demons like the *Kuttichathen*, who are said to occupy a lower grade.

It may not be out of place here to give a brief description of a devil-driving ceremony. The sorcerer makes an image with wood or powdered rice and by incantations transfers the devil on to that ; and to quote a writer on Malabar demonology, "demons reveal themselves by speaking through the voices of living members of the family. Here the demon appears in his original character of a human spirit. The man's mind is thoroughly under the belief in a spirit possessing him, and he speaks in the person of that spirit and gives its name. The person in his or her excited moods plays the demon, who is made to swear that he will no longer reside in the body or injure the person or any members of the family. Where mild measures fail, threats of various kinds and corporal punishments are resorted to, not infrequently followed by other forms of torture."

Columns can be written on demonology and witchcraft on the West Coast, but I fear I am tiring the patience of my readers. Further observations on this interesting subject may, therefore, be reserved for another occasion.

A Malayalee Journalist

THE CLOUD-MESSENGER

OR

THE EXILE'S MESSAGE

(Translated into English from the Sanskrit of Kalidasa)

PURBA-MEGHA

I

"In graceful glances *Aṃka*'s maidens vie
With lightning thine ; its paintings,—rainbow hues ;
Its booms of *muraj* drum in music played,

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In depth and sweetness, rival thunders thine ;
Its walls and floors with precious gems inlaid,
In inward cool, with vapours thine compare ;
In height, the house-tops well-nigh kiss the clouds ;
—That city's places then, with glories these,
Can well compare with Thee, O glorious Cloud !

II

“ The wives there sport, with lotus in their hands,
And *kunda* blossoms fresh their curls entwine ;
Their cheeks with *lodhra* poll'n are painted pale,
The *kurubak* their made-up hair adorns ;
The *sirishas* serve the beauteous ears as drops,
And *nipas*, growing with thy advent, Friend,
From up the parting of the hair are flung.

III

“ There, trees their blossoms bear the year all round,
And maddened bees all seasons on them hum :
The water-lilies flowering all throughout,
Are girded aye with chain of swans around ;
The peacocks pet, display their shining plumes,
And always crow in glee ; and evenings all
Are charming light, with all the gloom subdued !

IV

“ They weep (if weep at all !) for joy alone—
Those *Yakshas*, at that blessed seat above ;—
There's sorrow none,—none other than of love,
That cures itself in union with the lov'd ;
There partings are not,—save by lover's quarrels,
And lovely youth's the only age that goes !

V

“ There, gather they, with lovely women joined
On terrace crystal-paved, and flower'd o'er
With stars reflected ;—and, to music played
On *pushkar* drums, (as thunder sounding deep),
They sip the wines distilled from *kalpa* vines—
—The drink that leads to bliss in love's desires !

VI

“ On *Manda's* banks, the *Yaksha* maidens play,
—Those would be brides besought by *Amara* youths—
In th' face of breezes wafted from the stream,

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From sun protected by the shades o'ercast
By *mandar* trees, that stand along the banks.
They take and throw the golden river-sand
In handfuls, searching th' 'hidd'n jewel' therein.

VII.

* * * * *
* * * * *

VIII.

"The Clouds in *Alaka*, led by drifting winds,
The painted courtyards of its palaces spoil
With fresh rain-drops ! And then, as though in fright,
In bulk reduced, through netted window-paths
Emergc, in mass, like upward mounting smoke !

IX

"There, *Chandrakanta* gems on window-nets
Drip moisture cool, at dead of night, when the Moon
From cloud-veils freed, effulgent rays does shed.
And thus, the wives, with tired limbs fatigued
By love's embraces, all their languor soothe.

X

"The lusty youth, the lords of untold wealth
Hoarded in hidd'n cells, do daily haunt
The *Baibhraj* gardens there :—and sing aloud
With zest, the odes in honour of their chief,
With *Kinnars* joined : * * *

* * * * *

XI.

"The path that women tread to nightly trysts,
Is there revealed, when breaks the light of day,
By *mandar* flowers, dropp'd while they hast'ned home,
From down their hair ; by th' lilies gold
Perchance they shed (that erst adorn'd their ears) ;
By shreds of leaves of *patra* creepers torn ;
By pearly hair-nets from the crest dislodg'd ;
And necklets torn from off their spacious breast ;
—All due to haste and quickly-trembling gait !

XII

"There *Manmath* (God of Love), for fear of Siva,
(The friend of *Alaka*'s lord), who dwells on th' hill,
His bow of black-bees carries not along :

THE CLOUD-MESSENGER

His end is served by glances striking home
From frowning eyes of sportive maidens fair,—
To which, unfailing, do the youth succumb !

XIII.

“ There, *Kalpa* trees alone yield all the needs
For women’s toilet,—fine cloths, spirits sweet,
(That add to drinkers’ eyes the glow of love !)
And buds and tender leaves for ornaments,—
And *laksha* red, to paint their lotus feet !

XIV

“ There, north of royal *Kuver’s* palace-site,
Stands mine abode : thou wilt from far descry
Its gateway, fine portrayed in rainbow-hues !
And, by the gates, wilt meet a young *Mandar*,
There planted by my love, and cherished as her son,
Now high as hands could reach, with blossoms weighed.

XV

“ The lake in my compound has landing stairs
With emeralds paved ; there, golden lotuses bloom
On stems of coral ; and swans on ’ts waters glide.
E’en meeting thee, these will not move away
To better cheer, on *Manas* lake close by !

XVI

“ A hillock stands along the bank,—a spot
To pleasure lending. Th’ top is paved with slabs
Of *Indrani* ! the hedge around is marked
With groves of plantain-trees, all golden-hued.
I think me of this, now, with fond regrets,—
(My love, Oh, how she loves it !), now, O Cloud,
As thee I see, with golden lightning fringed !

XVII

“ This Hill contains a creeping *Madh’vi* bower
With *Kurubak* hedges girt : and near it, stand
A red-bloom’d *Asok* tree with trembling leaves,
And beauteous *Bakul* too : The one awaits
My lady’s feet, with me,—and the other wants
The taste of drink from’r mouth,—before they bud !

XVIII

“ Between these trees, a golden stand is set
On crystal landing, with its base begemmed,
A-shine like bamboos young ;—at day’s decline,
Our peacock pet, the friend of clouds like thee,

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Ascends the stick, and dances to the tune
Of tinkling *bangles* on her clapping wrists !

XVIX

“ My friend, do these the marks remember right,
And also look for arms on the gates,—
The ‘conch-and-lotus’ wrought,—to find my house,
Now sure bedimmed from absence of its lord,
As the lotus pines in bloom when sun is set !

XX

“ For easy ingress now, reduce thy bulk
To that o’an elephant young,—and attach thy form,
Against the pleasant slopes of Pleasure-Hill,
Just spoken of. From there, towards my House
Do thou in gentle lightning flashes glance,
Resembling nigh the shine of fire-flies’ row.

XXI

• “ Within that House there lives a Lady young,
Of slender make, and fair ; with pointed teeth,
And lips as *bimbas* ripe ; a supple waist,
And navel deep ; with eyes like those of deer
As dancing bright ; her gait is quite sedate
For heavy hips ; she gently forward bends
With breasts full-blown ;—as youthful maidens go,
She seems the first-fruit of the Maker’s art !

XXII

“ Know her for mine,—my wife, my second life !
Of few words she,—now living quite alone,
Like female *Chakravak* cut off from’r mate,
As she ’s from me.—Alas ! Thou mayst not find
Her *as she was* : I fear she’s sadly changed,
(Like th’ lily white, when bitten by the frost !)
From cares that haunt and worry her, poor girl !
As heavy days pass by, in absence from her lord.

XXIII

“ Her eyes, I trow, are swollen with crying hard
Her lips grown pale with heat of breathings deep,
Her locks dishevelled, hiding half her face,
Which on her palm she rests in reverie sad ;
Her beauty’s dim, like that of pallid moon,
When clouds besiege her glory on the sky.

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XXIV

"Wilt find her thou, performing sacred rites ;
Or fancy-led, depicting likeness mine
Reduced as I'm in sorrow !—or else, she turns
To ask, of the roting Parrot in her cage,
If it remembers me who petted it !

XXV

" Or, friend ! she takes the *vina* on her lap,
On'r dusty garb,—intent to sing aloud
The lay of my race, in stanzas she has writ ;
But lo ! her tears do wet its strings anon !
And now, she dries these up, and oft she tries,
But quite forgets the tune she set it to !

XXVI

" Or, else, she 's dropping flow'rs from door-frame top,
To count the months, remaining from the day
My exile runs ! or, fondly tasting joys,
In fancied bliss of union with her love !
From lov'rs parted, such expedients sweet
Are used by the fair their gloomy days to pass !

XXVII

" The daylight hours, she's busy with her work ;
My absence may 'nt then press her heavily ;—
But night, with rest, and pastimes laid aside,
Must grieve her overmuch.—So, then's the time,
For thee to greet her from the window-seat,
And make her happy with this message mine,—
As, sleepless, on the floor, she lies adown.

XXVIII

" As, lean from grief, she rests on 'r mateless bed,
On one side leans and does not turn about,
She looks like th' paling moon in crescent phase,
Against the east horizon's edge ! The night
She 'guiled with me, in sportive love, erstwhile,
As a moment brief, is heavy now with tears
In sorrow shed,—hot tears of parting sad !

XXIX

" From memories sweet, as fond her gaze she lifts
To the rays of Moon, as cool as nectar sweet,
Through windows streaming,—anon her eyes drop !

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With tears these swell, and th' heavy eye-lids droop ;
Nor 'sleep nor 'wake,—like lily of the land
In cloudy days—she rests in reverie sad !

XXX

“ With oil and scents discarded now, she bathes;
And thus, her locks all hard and rough, do hang
Adown her cheeks. With sighs that pale with heat,
Her leaf-like lips, she puts her tresses away.
She seeks her sleep in hopes that she might meet,
At least in dreams, the embraces of her love;
Alas ! her tears, that blind her eyes at night,
But little chance for sleep to come, would give !

XXXI

“ The day we parted, she her garlands flung,
And tied her hair in a single plait severe.
At exile's end, when sorrows would be past,
I would this knot untie. Till then, she tends
With finger-nails uncut, the one-tied hair
Now rough and hard to touch, off her cheeks.

XXXII

“ That tender girl has cast her jewels away,
And is pining fast ! The shocks of grief diverse
Have laid her low, and on her bed she rests
Her fainting frame :—a sight that 'll move e'en thee,
To tears, in shape of fresh 'ning drops of rain !
—To pity moved, are all, that soft hearts own.

XXXIII

“ O think not, Brother ! proud and vain, am I
Indulging idle theme ! Thou 'lt shortly see
Thyself, all that I ve told thee just of her.
I know for certain, aye, my lady's mind,
And know, she 's true to me ! For reason this,
In this, my absence first, I paint her thus.

XXXIV

“ My fawn-eyed love has th' corners of her eyes
Now shaded by her locks ; she paints them not
With *arjan* any more.—Her drink foregone,
Those brows have lost their charm of lovely dance !
Yet, when at thy approach, she 'll upward gaze,
Her stirring eyes will shine like *Kubalais*
To dancing moved, by fishes in the lake !

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XXXV

" Her left thigh 'll also tremble (boding good)
That thigh, so fair and soft like plantain-stem,

•	•	•	•
•	•	•	•
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XXXVI

" If, friend ! perchance, thou findest her asleep,
Do stand aside for but a *prahar's* time,
And don't in thunders boom.—Let not thy act
From my embrace in happy dreams obtained,
Sever her arms, entwined around my neck !

XXXVII

" With breezes cooled by contact with thy drops,
Her, gently rouse ; and then, to re-assure,
Greet her with new-blown buds of *Malati* sweet.
When, she in wonder will her steady gaze direct
To window-ward, and see thee there, begin
This message then, in gentle thunder-voice,—
With lighting thine, from her concealed within.

XXXVIII

" O wife, unwidowed still ! Behold me here
A Cloud, thy husband's friend,—now come to thee
With message sent by him, and borne at heart,
It 's I that speak, in thunder grave and sweet,
To lovers marching on their homeward way,
To soon unloose their mistresses' tie-bound hair,
And haste their tired feet to journey's end !

XXXIX

" With these words heard will she her face uplift
And look at thee,—with curious, anxious heart,
And greet thee well ; and bend a willing ear,
Henceforward to thy tale ;—as *Sita* did
When Pavana's son with message came from *Rama*.
The news of absent husbands, brought by friends,
Is little short, to wives, of meeting's joys.

XL

" O blessed friend ! to do my bidding now,—
As well by doing good to merit gain,

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This message mine to hear deliver thus :
" Thy love, O gentle girl ! now dwells away
On Hill *Ramagir*, in huts as hermits use,
—Alive and well.—He feels this parting sad,
And sends to ask for news of welfare thine."
[As untoward chances fall, in easy course
To mortals' lot, thus must the greeting be] !

XLI

" By fortune parted, and kept afar from thee,
His pining frame feverish-hot, and tearful eyes,
Benumbed with care, and parched by deep-drawn sighs,
He brings to thine, (to self-same plight reduced !)
In flights alone of fancy,—fond day-dreams !

XLII

" He who, while near, would feign a private talk
In presence of thy maids, for nothing grave,
And bend to thy ears, to have the blissful chance
To touch thy face,—is out of hearing now,
Nay, out of sight as well ! In exile's pain,
He has these lines composed, and sent through me

XLIII

" In *Syama* plant I find thy body matched ;
In the gaze of wild gazelle, I meet thy glance ;
In th' Moon thy face reflects ! The peacock's tails
Remind me of thy hair ; and on the streams,
The tiny wavelets, match thy dancing brows !
—But, nowhere, love, I meet thine image full.

XLIV

" When I, thine likeness in thy angry mood,
Try painting, on the slab, with *gairik* hues,
And fancy 'self prostrate before thy feet,—
Lo ! sudden comes a flood of tears, unbid,
And blinds my eyes ! Alas ! in picture e'en,
Would Fate forbid the union of our selves !

XLV

" The spirits of the Hill shed tears profuse
On leaves of forest-trees, as big as pearls,
When me they find, in vain uplift in air,
My arms, for close embracing thee, in dreams !

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XLVI

"The winds that blow to southward from the snows,
And cut thro' the leaves of *Deodar* forests fresh,
With fragrance laden, of their oozing juice,
I fondly' brace, O sweet ! on th' chance, that these,
In passing, may have swept thy limbs before !

XLVII

"Deep pain of parting 's quite upset my mind,
My brisk-eyed dame !—I catch me praying oft,
That long night dwindle to a moment brief !
And th' day in seasons all, be mild of heat !

XLVIII

"O blest one ! do not let despondence grow,
For, I 'm in fancied hopes sustaining self !
As transient pleasures are, so also *grief* ;
Man's lot, like car-wheel, goes now up, now down !

XLIX

"When *Vishnu* rises from his serpent-bed,
My exile ends ! To this, but four months stay.
With patience then, do thou these somehow pass,
My love ! What thoughts we had, our hearts' desire,
We'll *then* enjoy, in autumn's moonlit nights !

L

"Thy lord has added : "Once, upon a night,
When thou wast locked in light clasp on my neck,
Thou, sudden cried aloud ! When prest by me
For reasons of thy wail, these words thou saidst,
With gentle smiles : O crafty youth, in dreams,
I saw thee taste another woman's charms !"

LI

"This is, O dark-eyed dame ! a token true
From me, thine husband : know me doing well,
And trust not rumour 'gainst my life or truth.
The saying, that in absence love doth wane
Is non-sense ! Rather affections grow intense,
For want of lavishment ; they gather strength
Round objects absent, deepening into Love !"

LII

"Dear Cloud ! When thou hast thus solaced
My wife, in this first grief of hers severe,
So thou then take a token in return

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For me, from her, and the message she will send.
O come thou hast'ning back, from *Kailas* mount,
The scene of hill-tops torn by *Śiva's* Bull,
And save my life with cheering words of hope !
For lo ! it droops like th' morning *Kunda* bud !

LIII

" Hast thou, sweet friend, resolved this favour t' do,
As I desire ? thou needst not answer " Yea " !
For *words* of promise I won't think thee grave !
To *Chatakas* thou in silence givest rain.
By *deeds* not *words*, the good all prayers grant.

LIV

" For friendship's sake or out of pitying sense
Of sorrow mine, do thou, O Cloud ! fulfil
This mission, which is hardly fit for thee,
But which I trust thee with, in eager love !
When this is done, thou'lt freely roam above,
Where'er thou list'st, while wet weather lasts,
In grace renewed ! I pray, thou never mayst
Such parting suffer from thy Lightning-love !"

End of "*Uttara-Megha*" or *Book II*.

EPILOGUE

When *Kāvera* heard this message sent by the cloud,
His ire forgot, he forthwith sentence nulled
In mercy to the youth ; and rejoined the pair !
Their sorrows gone, fore'er they lived in joy,
In mutual bliss, enjoying heart's desires.*

Sures Chandra Sarka

* We shall not publish any further instalment of this Translation, as the whole of it will come out in book form in the course of a few days. Copies of the Translation may be had of the author at Hazaribagh.—*Ed. J. W.*

OCCASIONAL STORIES

THE CONDEMNED

A STORY OF THE RUNG MEHAL

I

It was the day of the *Naaraj*, a festival the Moghul had adopted from the Persians. The rich palace of the 'Great Moghul' at Agra was lit up all over with bulbs of light which threw a mellow gleam over its glistening marble and built up a splendour that was possible only in the palace of the great Shah Jehan.

Truly splendid was the palace on that day; but nowhere was beauty so focussed as in the Minabazar, the centre of all attractions of the day. It was an arcade built of red stone with stalls round a small quadrangle. All the magnificence that the court of Shah Jehan was capable of was lavished on this little spot. For it was a woman's fancy fair, a spot where the richest in the empire were proud to send their wives to do shopping on this one day of the year. The glory of decorations was well matched with the splendour of costumes that jostled against one another as the dreamy and fragrant lamps languidly showered their rays on them. Diamond and ruby, pearl and gold glared at one another and at intervals the opal shot forth its lurid mystic light. Bright and merry, myriads of the fairest faces and the most luxurious forms flitted about in that home of joy.

For all that, it was a bad day for splendour. For not on one of those rich bejewelled frames did your eye fall at first glance but on a slight slim figure, covered all over in a thin light blue *orna*; for that modest garment hid the fairest and sweetest face in that galaxy of beauties. It was this girl that caught the Emperor's eyes as he looked from his throne behind the screen at the scene of glory that was here displayed.

Shah Jahan looked all eyes. He watched her as she went from shop to shop and flitted about from sight to sight. "Roushun," he asked his trusted eunuch, "is not that a flower worthy of the richest Emperor's garden?"

"Aye, my liege," was the answer, "and at your bidding your slave will pluck it for the pleasure of the world's greatest king."

"For shame," replied the Emperor, "such a thing is not to be

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plucked by the barbarous hand of a wretch like you. It must be delicately touched. You had better get me her name and parentage.'

Roushan started on his errand forthwith.

II

In one of the rooms of the spacious mansions of Agha Beg sat a young lad; for, with all the twenty summers he had seen Gulzar was nothing but a lad. He was a Tartar by birth and a nephew of Agha Beg, the merchant prince of Agra. Nurtured in luxury and ease and unknown to free air and exercise, his physique had cultivated an effeminacy which was largely enhanced by his rich flowing locks and wistful dark eyes as well as by the absence of hair on his face. As the lad sat musing on his fancies, his cousin Zinnat-un-nissa nimbly stepped into the room and pounced upon him in a fury of exultation. The two cousins were fast friends and the greater part of their days was passed in each other's company, preferably in the amiable occupation of teasing each other. Gulzar, as we have noticed, was twenty and a boy for his age; Zinnat fifteen and looked quite a young woman. All the same, they to be the perfectest and the best matched companions—was it, for life?

Gulzar moved a bit aside as the girl jumped on him and Zinnat all but fell on the floor for the trick. Gulzar laughed immoderately.

"I say, you blubber," said Zinnat, "what do you mean by giggling like that?"

"Just what I mean, I suppose," he answered, "but, Zinnat, you seem awfully off your head, what's the matter?"

"Off my head! Why, my head is right enough on my shoulder. But you would have been awfully glad I suppose if it were knocked off by the fall."

There could be no mistaking that the girl was offended. Gulzar found it out now and looked foolish. He was a fool for all his liveliness when any body was really hurt. He was one of those who can talk glibly enough and leave a reputation for conversation if all go on smoothly, but are totally upset by the slightest hitch. The real anger of Zinnat put him altogether out of his element and, much as he liked to say or do the right thing, nothing came to him that might be said or done then and there. So he sat like a dunce and Zinnat stood glowering at him.

• The *impasse* was soon over however and it was wound up with a bursting laughter from Zinnat.

• "You are nonplussed," said she, "aren't you, dunce."

Gulzar was reassured by the changed humour of the capricious

girl but could not quite recover himself yet. So he had to give the go by to the girl for the moment.

"What, do you suppose, I rushed to tell you when you tripped me with your beastly trick?"

"That your chick has laid a golden egg, I suppose."

"Better than that, you dull fellow, a great deal better," she said and, clasping her cousin's hand in the overflow of her joyous heart, she fixed her beaming eyes on his and said, "Gulzar, I am to be a queen."

Joy was glowing from every limb of her girlish features and her face had an unearthly gleam when she broke the joyous news to her dearest friend. Gulzar drew back staggered.

"A queen!" he exclaimed, "you don't mean it."

"I do."

He faintly asked, "How is it, how could you be a queen?"

"The Emperor summoned my father to his presence to-day and asked for my hand. He took a fancy for me at yesterday's bazar. But do not stare so, I am to be a queen only not a ghost you know."

But were she a thousand ghosts, Gulzar would not have grown half as pale as at this communication. In his inmost heart he felt a twitch and was staggered by it. He would much rather have braved a thousand arrows than this bit of news.

Was it that he loved her? Not for all that he knew of. From childhood they had grown up in close companionship and in her company lay one of his greatest joys. Yet, till this critical moment, he never knew that he cared for her more than as a playmate and companion, that his companion was, in fact, woven into the very texture of his heart as inseparable from his identity. The news was a signal for separation, it was the wrenching away of old associations. Gulzar felt his heart now for the first time and knew that to take Zinnat away was to pluck it out.

Zinnat's taunts and jeers could not therefore rouse him and he bluntly and awkwardly retreated before her exuberance of spirits. When he went away, it was Zinnat's turn to pause and think. The pale face of Gulzar now stung her to her inmost heart and the truth flashed across her mind that Gulzar was not her friend and companion alone but a lover whom she had disappointed. The thought was too sad for her. She was a thoughtless girl and did not really care for him more than as a friend, but it deeply pained her woman's heart to feel that she had given a galling wound to a lover's heart and that her own thoughtless words

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had perhaps added to the smart of the blow. She mused and then drew a heavy sigh,—the first that she ever drew, but alas far from the last !

From that day Gulzar was not to be found. Zinnat wept bitterly at the thought that she was the cause of all his sorrow. Fain would she give up her begumship to bring her companion back—though she well knew it was death and ruin to her house to flout the Emperor's wish. Amid tears she left her father's house, with tears she felt that she lacked the blessings of a loving heart in her departure for greater fortune—a heart that was worth all the jewels that was to be hers.

III

Zinnat was a simple, artless child. Her fancy was lit up with the thoughts of begumship and it was with great expectations that she first entered the harem. It was not all joy, for, in her inmost heart, she felt a pang at the thought of Gulzar of whose misery she was the innocent cause. Still, thoughtless as she was, she was fired with joy at the pomp and grandeur of the ceremony and looked forward with great joy to her days in the Rung Mehal.

She was not disappointed on her first entrance. The whole of that great quadrangle where the choicest beauty of the empire was grouped together for the pleasure of a mighty monarch was decorated to profusion to receive his beauteous and most beloved bride. The corridors of the red buildings all round were thronged with expectant faces of thousands of women as the palanquin that conveyed her was brought to the gate of the Mehal. The admiring eyes of that girl then opened on a glorious realm of beauty which the taste of Shah Jahan had raised to the highest pitch of glory. Before her stood the yard in which myriads of luscious grapes dangled temptingly and longed to be plucked by the soft hands of the Begums themselves. Walking through them she came up to a row of marble buildings which shone in that crowd of red houses like the very emblem of chastity. She was led to the marble steps which led her to a spacious platform in front of the Khas Mehal or the common room of the Emperor's harem. Within the platform was carved the open air bath with spouts of fragrant waters playing all round. Here the mistress of the Zenana, the Emperor's daughter, Jehanara, met her courteously and led her on to the interior of the magnificent colonnaded hall of snow-white marble into which the skill and taste of artists had carved the most beauteous designs of fresco in rich stones inlaid.

Zinnat was delighted with the seeming heartiness of her welcome.

She was dazzled by the magnificence that was lavishly displayed on all sides. The entertainments in the shape of music and dancing that were provided for her transported her to a region of joy beyond her wildest dreams.

The entertainments over, Jehanara herself led her by a side door to one of the small marble chambers that stood on either side of the hall and which, she informed her with an overflow of courteous terms familiar to Moghal court life, was to be her dwelling in the future. Unused to the courtesies of court life, the new queen was delighted with what seemed to be the hearty regard of Jehanara, and parted with her for the rest of the day with the most genuine expressions of true regard.

Yet Jehanara was bursting with anguish at this newest addition to the royal harem. The transcendent charms of this new choice of the emperor made her all the more guilty in her eyes. For she knew to her cost how the charms of others who had come before had for a time curtailed much of power she wielded over her imperial father and had lowered her in the estimation of the Rung Mehal over whom she lorded it at her sweet will. But if these are tolerable, this sweet young creature with her innocent smile and her guileless heart was a nuisance and, what was more, her plebian delight at the magnificence of the harem was scandalous.

In her anguish she betook herself to Mumtaz. That emblem of beauty who has left her immortal remains in the most beauteous edifice in the world had not joined in the day's entertainments. She kept to her own chambers, the magnificent marble apartments close to the Emperor's private quarters, and when Jehanara approached her she was weeping. On a luxurious bed on a golden cot lay India's greatest beauty in grief. She hid her face in the soft pillows and wept like a child.

"Mother," said Jehanara, "it ill behoves the Empress of the greatest dominion on earth to weep."

"Jehanara," the weeping queen replied, "this thrust of yours is as untimely as cruel. You are a spinster, what can you know of a woman's heart? How could you guess the pain that it is to feel that the man to whom your everything is given is lost to you? The Emperor is great and wise, and he has no doubt done what was best, but I have a woman's heart and what can I do but weep?"

"Nay, mother, I did not come to tease or irritate. I am a spinster, but a woman withal. I have woman's sense in me and can declare without hesitation that the king has done an outrageous

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act. But is that a reason for his best beloved queen to weep? Nay, mother, weeping ill becomes you."

"What else could I do? I can but curse the lot that made me a woman and a woman who had the boldness to love a sovereign. I knew that he was great beyond estimation and was not to be bounded by the love of the trifle that I am. Still, Jehanara, fool that I am, I have loved him for all that I am worth. I have exhausted myself for his sweet pleasure and in that alone my sole delight lies. Jehanara, can I help weeping to feel that all my love and all my service has not been enough for my sovereign?" Mumtaz hid her dainty face again as her glossy eyes poured forth a torrent of tears.

Stolidly Jehanara stood up and said "Kill the kitten and all that its mother will do would be to howl and weep. Strike the lion's cub and the lioness will jump on you to suck your life-blood. Mother, the Empress is not made to be the whining kitten but the prancing lioness. Would you suffer your love to be so trampled over and weep? Would you gaze on your Emperor as he plays with that insignificant woman in love and sit still? Nay mother, that ill becomes your blood, it ill becomes the greatest Empress on earth. Pull up your lion's pride, stand between your lover and the petty object of his infatuation; assert yourself and keep for yourself the esteem and love that is your due. Do not suffer to be cast away from your proud position by anybody. *That* would become an Empress and the greatest monarch's spouse."

Mumtaz was fired with the eloquence of Jehanara and pondered over her words for some time. Jehanara felt that she had not cultivated learning in vain; for her speech had told on her step-mother. She therefore soon left the chamber leaving Mumtaz to her meditations. Mumtaz mused and mused and knew not what to do. Her woman's instinct prompted her to jealousy and revenge, but her better, sweeter self was there too. Her distress grew as she mused more and more, and to ease herself she rose to go for a walk in the corridor of the magnificent Jasmine Tower, overlooking the Jumna, the daintiest and richest spot in the entire palace, the chamber where the emperor and herself had passed delightful days and nights.

It was not evening yet, and the Emperor was not expected to be in his apartments so early. Mumtaz therefore thought to go and have one of her silent communions with Nature from there; for in such communion she had ever found a never-failing balm to all sores of the heart. She came out, but before her, in the yard

leading to the chambers of the Emperor walked Zinnat, in all the glory of her new robes and jewels and with virgin blush of new love on her cheeks. For one moment Mumtaz looked at her—it was a sweet dear innocent face to which you could not but look—and then she fell back. The Emperor had evidently come early to-day and sent for his new bride. This was a cruel blow and Mumtaz, slighted for the first time in her life, all but fainted away when she was caught in the arms of her trusted attendant Fatima.

Mumtaz looked round, and turning her rolling eyes on her attendant, she heaved a deep sigh and said, "Fatima, what shall I do?"

Fatima's dark eyes flashed fire and her eyebrows were knit. She said nothing, but lovingly took her dainty burden to her bed and sat nursing her.

IV

The days passed on. Jehanara strove in vain to bring down this new love of the Emperor and Fatima smarted in vain in her apartments downstairs. But as days went on the enjoyments of a Moghul harem bore heavily on Zinnat. When the girlish exultation at grandeur was gone, when the whirlpool of pleasures in which the Rung Mehal was hopelessly cast grew tiresome, Zinnat began to feel that all was hollow. She felt to her cost that all the tinsel grandeur of the harem was a poor show and beneath its lavish decorations there was not the wholesome chasteness of beauty that was the pleasure and ornament of life; she found out that under the whirlpool of pleasures there was no joy or happiness, and under the lavish flow of kind words there was no love or heart. The Rung Mehal was a nice place to flit about the surface of, and any one who had a heart and a mind was entirely out of element here. Thoughtless as she was, Zinnat's heart was chastened by her trials of pleasure and the undercurrent of a solid heart in her girlish life soon swayed her impulses, so that before the year was round, she grew up into a demure and thoughtful damsel borne down with the weight of the dissipations and yearning for something better and more substantial.

The one ray of comfort in her joyless life was the Emperor's company. Shah Jehan had a heart and a noble mind. His masterful personality had swayed the whole life of the young girl and she felt that to gaze at his noble royal face and to hear his mellifluous words of love were happiness indeed. Often would she sit beside him on the Jasmine Tower and while the light-hearted Jumna nimbly rippled away, she would drink the words that fell

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from her royal lord, and, transported far beyond the sordid earth, she would receive his caresses with only half-conscious delight. Oh, that she could live in that blessed company for ever and evermore. What a joy it would be to her if there were nothing more to do on earth than to love and be loved by one who was so much a man that he was lifted above humanity itself.

Yet it was not to be. The heaven of her earthly life was not to be enjoyed for ever. She felt that the hours of her bliss were very few and far between. Not that Shah Jehan did not love her dearly or did not find in her company the pleasantest relaxation for himself, nor that she had to fear any rivals, save possibly Mumtaz. But unfortunately for herself this was one of the busiest years in that dutiful Emperor's life. His days and nights were almost entirely taken up with State affairs or social functions, which, for a sovereign, were as important as State business itself. The busy Emperor really found very little time for relaxation or enjoyment and the ladies of his harem scarcely saw his face.

Zinnat was therefore for the greater part of her days thrown into the hopeless whirlpool of hollow delight which made her life thoroughly miserable. Often would she withdraw herself to the secluded window of her chambers and, with her eye fixed on the black Jumna, she would give herself up to the thoughts of the delightful days of her childhood when there was no pleasure without joy and no words without a heart. Her heart yearned for the simple life of her father's house and with each thought of that life the pale face of Gulzar danced in her eye and smote her heart. Often she would weep, for the life that she had made miserable and the heart that she had broken. She grieved to think that Gulzar's was a heart destined to be an ornament of mankind—the heart that she had unwittingly trampled over.

As she glanced across the Jumna from her window, her eyes fell on the figure of a waif that straggled along the opposite bank of the river. As she gazed on listlessly, she shuddered with a sudden flash of recognition—it was no other than Gulzar.

She almost fainted away, but shortly pulled herself up. What was she to do? Gulzar had been found at last and might be carried back home if an attempt was made at once. But what could she do? It was against the propriety of the harem for her to have anything to do with a man. She could tell the Emperor, but he was away at Delhi. She could write to her father, but who knows that Gulzar would be staying there till her father came. She could have him arrested, but that was an indignity she would not put

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him to. At last she launched on a desperate project that might bring her to ruin at any moment. She wrote a letter and sent it to Gulzar through her most trusted attendant. She sent another to her father informing him of the return of Gulzar.

IV

The trusted woman who was charged with the task of delivering the letter to the straggler beyond the river found the situation somewhat interesting and could not deny herself the pleasure of acquainting herself with the contents of her letter before she performed her errand. She therefore carried it to her own apartments where she called in the assistance of Fatima, Mumtaz's maid. The letter was short—and read as follows :—

"Gulzar,

I am glad to see you again. It is a pleasure to me even to look on you. My life here is dreary and desolate. Do not therefore deprive me of the pleasure your sight gives me. Do come where you are, everyday.

Zinnat."

Both the maids found it a jolly game, and Fatima found it very much to her purpose. Her first impulse was to appropriate it for the eye of the emperor,—it was such a good arrow to kill the bird with. But her resourceful brain soon planned some more mortal blow and let the maid carry the letter to its destination.

Zinnat's maid went out of the fort and across the Jumna to reach the spot where Gulzar stood. The clever and resourceful Fatima in the meantime dived into one of the subterranean passages in which the palace abounded and made her appearance on the rampart opposite where Gulzar stood. With the assistance of a warder who was obliged to her for occasional favours she secured a ladder and climbed down the ramparts. She then crossed the river in a skiff and was beside Gulzar before Zinnat's maid was half-way to the gate of the fort.

"Gulzar," he called the young man who looked more a boy than ever.

Gulzar was startled at being called by a woman. He looked frightened and was about to fly away. But Fatima caught his skirt and said, "Don't be frightened, tell me, do you love Zinnat still?"

Gulzar was amazed and asked, "Who are you, you seem to know everything."

"I am a maid of the Rung Mehal and possess some influence. I have seen you staring at those stones for the last few days as

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though you would pull them down with your eyes if you could. I ask you, then, do you love Zinnat still ? ”

“ Love her,” exclaimed the youth, “ she is the bone of my bone, the heart of my heart. My very life is wasted because your Emperor chose to take away the woman whom God made for me. Love her, O woman, you could never know what she has been to me and what her memory is to me now. I come here every day, every day I stare at the stones to catch a glimpse of that lovely frame, but often in vain.”

“ Did you ever see her ? ”

“ I did. But O ! the very memory of that sight is scathing. I saw her in that lovely tower, lovelier far than the tower in its grandeur ; but she was in the arms of the Emperor, they were locked up in a deep embrace. Oh, I cannot think of it, the thought is killing.” Then with a sudden flash of weird doubt he said, “ But why, why should I tell you all this ? Who are you ? You have wrenched away my confidence. Begone.”

Fatima smiled sweetly. “ I am your friend, Gulzar, and wish to help you in your love. Would you not really love to be nearer her, to have her face constantly in view ? I have heard that true lovers like these things immensely and are willing to make great sacrifices for them.”

“ Like ! I would give everything to be by her side and only to have a look at her.”

“ If you want to be near her, come to this spot at dusk, I shall take you to the Rung Mehal.”

“ But how could you ? ”

“ Believe me and come here at dusk. Meanwhile, I might remind you that it would be as well if you would just give some attention to your toilette before you come.”

With this Fatima turned back, but Gulzar anxiously caught her arm and said, “ Tell me, are you in earnest ? Will you really take me in ? ”

“ I will, and have faith in me ; Fatima never lied.”

“ Excuse me, but I am a ruined man, have pity on me and do not disappoint me in the only hope of my life.”

Fatima repeated her assurance and departed. As she stepped into her skiff she looked up the stream and saw a boat cross the river. Pointing that way she said, “ That boat carries to you a letter from Zinnat, do not break your plans to the bearer.” In another minute she was in midstream and she disappeared behind the ramparts before Zinnat’s maid had crossed over to the other side.

Gulzar gazed at her and mused. A passing thought of the impropriety of his action struck him, but it was quickly brushed aside and his determination made.

He was awakened from his reverie by Zinnat's maid who delivered the letter to him. Gulzar read the letter and sent away the maid with a thousand *salaams* for the Begum Sahib. The last shadow of doubt and hesitation had disappeared in the anxiety to serve the object of his love.

That night by Fatima's cruel favour Gulzar was introduced into the Rung Mehal as a maid, while the whole fort was bustling to the gate to receive the emperor back from Delhi and the harem was concentrated on the roof of the Jodhbai Mehal to see the lord of men come in. There was nothing against Gulzar's womanhood in his looks, and Fatima had good cause to be gratified at the admirable success of her plan.

V

Next day was the day for the Naoroza fancy fair in the imperial harem. The erstwhile deserted Mina bazar was aglow once again with the pomp and majesty of the occasion and beauties poured forth once again, from the harem and from outside, attired in their best apparel and each with the determination to outshine the rest in splendour. Mumtaz Mehal alone did not go. Zinnat-un-nissa found her spirits revive on the occasion, for it was an occasion when she might hope to come into contact with the world outside. She threw aside her jewels and only selected two diamond bracelets and a tiara that the Emperor had given her with his own hand. She put on the old suit which she had worn at the last Naoroza fair and which she had since kept apart as a souvenir of love and good luck. Thus decked in her simple clothes, the most beloved spouse of the Great Mogul walked lightly into the arena of her good luck. She met the Emperor on the way. He had dressed himself in his own simple majestic white robe for appearance at the *Jharoka* of the Dewan-i-Am,—the durbar at which he daily dispensed justice. They both looked at each other in admiration and smiled. "The flower is going to bloom in all its simplicity and purity to-night, it seems," said the Emperor.

"As your Majesty pleases," replied the queen. "Your slave prizes no dress as richer or more glorious than this which won me your love."

"Zinnat, you lie, you give the poor stuff more credit than it deserves. A cloth is but a cloth, it is the wearer that enriches it."

"They say that love is blind, my lord."

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"May be, but your wisdom is not any wiser, for you rank my old face as one of the finest ones on earth!"

"This time you lie, my lord, for I said it was the fairest and best and not one of them."

The king wound up the conversation with a great hug finished up with a shower of kisses as Zinnat clung languidly to him.

Zinnat then went to the bazar and Shah Jehan repaired to the *Jharoka* of the Dewan-i-Am. Gulzar was to-day metamorphosed into a rich lady shining with jewels, through the good graces of Fatima who had given him an asylum in her chamber. As such, he made his entry into the fair, close at the heels of the object of his love. He also managed to advance to Zinnat and enter into a lively conversation with her. The unsuspecting Zinnat was greatly pleased with the conversation which reminded her of her days with Gulzar, and they walked through the bazar arm in arm rapturous in each other's company.

The shades of evening were falling on the land when the Emperor was released from his state functions and went to have a glance at the fair from behind the screen. He was charmed to see Zinnat, sprightly and joyous as she was a year ago when first she met his eye. An exclamation of delight escaped him, when shaking every limb with terror, Fatima kneeled before his presence and said, "Please, your Majesty, your slave would like to make a communication if your Majesty pardons her."

The Emperor was startled at her attitude and anxiously asked : "Has anything happened to your mistress?"

"No, my liege, it is a serious affair and can be said only if you pardon your slave."

"Say what you have got to say."

"My liege, the new Begum Saheba is walking hand in hand with a man in the bazar."

"Thou liest, wretch, and shalt lie no more. Would some one cut away her tongue in my presence?"

Two armed Tartar girls rushed to do the bidding but Fatima said, "Your Majesty's bidding will be done, but if your Majesty will please send somebody to know the truth of my assertion my statement would be easily proved."

The irate Emperor dragged Fatima to the screen and showed her Zinnat and Gulzar walking together. "There, look there," he said, "She is walking with that lady."

"It is a man and no lady, your Majesty."

The Emperor was dumb-founded. He gazed attentively at the

couple and saw to his utter surprise that the companion of Zinnat glanced at her and showered attentions on her in a manner which left no doubt of his being a male in female attire. The Emperor was furious and ordered the culprits to be brought to his presence at the Dewan-i-Khas immediately. Fatima however interposed and suggested that it would be best to ascertain first whether the person was a man or a woman.

The Emperor acknowledged the justice of her statement and sent the Tartar Amazons to make the enquiry and himself retired in great rage to the Dewan-i-Khas.

Fatima was greatly pleased, for it was no part of her plan that Gulzar should be caught and she herself implicated and ruined. She therefore accompanied the Tartar girls down to the bazar and drew Gulzar aside. When the Tartar girls had satisfied themselves as to the truth of her allegations, she sent one of them to give information to the Emperor while the other with Fatima was supposed to mount guard on Gulzar pending the orders of the Emperor. Fatima however drew aside the Tartar girl to tell her something very particular, and, obedient to a sign from her, Gulzar promptly disappeared behind the ponderous gate which led into the Macchi Bhawan courtyard from the Mina bazar. Fatima had taken care to inform him of a private chamber there which was known to but few.

When Fatima had finished her conversation, the Tartar girl turned round to find that Gulzar had disappeared. In the meantime the other girl returned from the Emperor with orders to produce both the man and Zinnat. Then began a most vigorous search of the whole bazar. No nook or cranny remained unsearched but the man was not to be found. For, in fact out of his concealment Gulzar had in the meantime emerged, metamorphosed as a eunuch guard, a transformation for which he had prepared himself beforehand.

Fatima met him in his new character and instantly dragged him up into the chamber from which the Emperor watched matters, on the pretext of making a search. A deep tunnel led from there to the Rung Mehal and the two promptly disappeared by the way. Shortly Gulzar found himself comfortably provided for in Fatima's own apartments in the *Bandi Mehal*.

VI

The Emperor fumed with rage when he was told that the search had failed. He strutted about in fury on the terrace in front of the Dewani-Khas and bit his lips in anger. Presently he seated

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himself on the rich black marble throne on the terrace and ordered the Begum to be brought before him. The attendants were startled at the command; for on such occasions the short trial was made in private chambers and the culprit disposed of in a secret subterranean gibbet. To bring a guilty begum to the open terrace in the presence of all the ministers was a breach of zenana etiquette that shocked and scandalised them. But the Emperor must be obeyed and warders marched off to do his bidding.

Instantly the Emperor jumped out of the throne and paced the terrace, burning with fury. For one moment he sat on the white marble throne opposite and strove to compose his thoughts by looking out at the Jumna. But his heart was burning with anguish and he could not sit still. He rose up again and marched off towards the Zenana.

Just at the entrance to the Zenana he met the guilty queen being led, all covered with clothes and shaking every limb. At the sight of that figure, the Emperor started back and shouted, "Take her away, take her to the gibbet and show her what a faithless begum fares like. Take her away."

At this Zinnat composed herself, threw back her veil and looking full at her master with the most innocent pair of eyes she asked, "My lord and master, what have I done?" and tears rolled down her velvet cheeks.

"What have you done?" cried the Emperor, "you have burnt hell-fire in my bosom. Oh! I can't bear it. Those soft eyes and gentle looks, O! those are the poisoned darts with which you have instilled the anguish of a thousand hells into my bosom. Take her away, take away the seducer, the Devil incarnate, I cannot bear her presence. Take her away and hang her."

The queen was removed from his presence in a fit.

The whole harem was roused by this unprecedented scene. The fate of Zinnat was the topic of every body's talk. Some wept, some smiled, and the more elderly amongst them recalled similar occurrences in the past history of the Rung Mehal.

Mumtaz, sad and demure, was sitting in her chamber all alone, trying to interest herself in some verses of Hafiz, when her trusted attendant came in and told her the whole story of the fate of Zinnat gam. She threw away her book and stood up in amazement.

"Could this be true?" she cried in anguish, and then said, "Poor dear soul! Heaven bear witness, I bear no malice to her!" and tears rolled down her cheek.

Then she abruptly asked, "Fatima, where is the Emperor?"

• "In the Jasmine Tower."

"Go and inform him that I seek the honour of an audience."

"There is little chance of your getting it," replied Fatima, "for the Emperor has desired that he should be alone for the night."

"What a pity ! Still, go and try. I must see him, the poor girl must be saved."

"Now, Madam," said Fatima, "don't be a fool but rejoice that the greatest bar to your pleasure is gone."

"For shame, Fatima. It is a shame to think that I could stoop so low as that ! you must never speak like that again. Though she was a rival, I love her still ; she was a sweet, guileless, simple child, a girl unfit for the atmosphere of the Rung Mehal."

"Nay, but don't say I did all this to get no better reward !"

"You did all this ? What do you mean ?"

"Nothing but this that the begum is quite innocent. She did not really know that it was a man she talked to. I got the man in and I had the begum caught in his company."

"Vile and wretched creature !" cried Mumtaz. "You make me feel the burden of her blood on my shoulders. Get thee gone, I say, and donot come to me again. My God, my Prophet, save me from the burden of this sin." Mumtaz was borne down with grief and wept helplessly. Presently she raised her head and seeing Fatima there, she shouted in fury, "How dare you stand there still ? Get away, I say, get away, from the palace, or thou wilt be hanged on the same gibbet with Zinnat."

Fatima did not expect this and drew off non-plussed.

A thought now struck Mumtaz and she called Fatima back.

"Thou didst all this," she said, "for reward. Undo it again and that reward will be thine."

"The gibbet is the only reward that I could have, if my trick were known to the Emperor or the Princess. But this much I can promise that I will save the life of the begum."

"Life is but a poor thing when all that is dearest is lost ! I know the love the girl bore to the king, and if she is all that I think of her, she would sooner die than receive her life as a gift from thee. However let her live for this night alone and I shall see what I can do for her."

At this Fatima withdrew and in her distraction Mumtaz flitted about the room, uncertain as to what to do. Distractedly she rushed for the Jasmine Tower to see the Emperor if possible. The female warders at the gates warned her of the Emperor's dis-

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pleasure, but dared not stop her, and presently she found herself in the presence of the Emperor.

The king was weeping. He had buried his head in his arm and leaning on a shelf of the corridor he wept.

Silently Mumtaz approached her lord. She kneeled and joined her palms as she looked up to that dearly beloved face—a suppliant for a rival's life.

"My master, I beg a boon," said Mumtaz. The Emperor cast a miserable look on her which withered her loving heart.

"Mumtaz," said he, "I am sorely grieved."

The deep anguish of the Emperor's heart cut her to the core of her being and that moment, she thought, she might give away all that she cherished most to pluck that rooted sorrow from her husband's breast. She did not know what to do, she could not find a word to suit the occasion. Her heart was bursting with the deepest sympathy, yet at that critical moment words failed to apply that soothing balm to the sores of her lover's heart. They remained silent for a while and through that silence their hearts spoke.

"What is your boon?," asked the Emperor after a long pause.

"My master," answered Mumtaz, "I beg the life of a little girl quite unworthy of your Majesty's wrath."

The Emperor grew graver and assumed an ominous silence which put a gag to the fair queen's lips. After a while he said: "Was it to stir my sores in this fashion that you intruded upon my solitude to-night?"

"My liege, I presume too much on your love I fear, but, sire, it is not for her sake alone that I intercede but for yours too. Why are you so sorely grieved? Is it not because you loved her, nay, because you love her still? You have ordered Zinnat to die, I doubt not but the girl will go smiling to the gibbet at your command. But my liege, you are mistaken if you think that it will soothe your heart. You do not know yourself, but woman that I am, I feel that you love her still, more than any other human being. Your love, you think, has been badly requited. You therefore kill the guilty girl in a rage. You delude your aching heart with the thought that her punishment will please you. But if to-morrow you learn that Zinnat is faultless, would not the anguish come back tenfold on you? My master, don't pluck out your own heart in a vain bravado that anger breeds. Let her live."

"You do not know," slowly the Monarch replied, "how I have been hurt."

"My love, I do. But I come to warn you against yourself,

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that you donot do yourself irreparable injury by rashness. Has Zinnat really proved false ? Have you had the fullest proof of her guilt ? Have you heard her before you struck or are you sure that the man you saw was not a phantasmagoria or the creature of a designing woman of the Rung Mehal ? Have you satisfied yourself that Zinnat was not the dupe of a rival ? Nay, my lord, stare not so, you have not heard her, you have not satisfied yourself of her guilt, and, if she is innocent, remember that her blood will rise against you in judgment. If she is guilty let her die, but by all means let her be heard. My master, this is the boon that I ask for your sake more than for anybody's else."

The Einperor mused for a long time and then said, "Mumtaz, you are right. She shall be heard. But I cannot bear the sight of her. My blood boils within me to think of the story. You will be the judge. Yes, she shall live to-night."

VII

The Emperor's order was conveyed through the proper channels to the eunuch in charge of the harem lock-up. But while the order was winding its tortuous way through official channels, while in fact, Jehanara as the mistress of the Rung Mehal was weighing in her mind if she should pass it on or let it hang on till it was too late, events happened which rendered the order quite nugatory. Long before the order was issued Zinnat was taken away through those hellish chambers and tunnels under the ground, just below the temple of her bliss to a very dark little chamber, where even at midday not the ghost of a streak of light could find its way. An armed Tartar girl led the way with a torch and another followed her.

In the meantime Fatima had rushed to her own chamber where Gulzar sat bursting with anxiety. Fatima rushed in like a storm and hurried him out of the chamber whispering, "Come at once if you want to save Zinnat." Gulzar was armed and dressed like a eunuch guard and he followed Fatima without a word. The two rushed through the yard of the Rung Mehal and opened a little door in the plinth of the marble buildings. A girl was passing by the way, torch in hand. Fatima snatched away the torch and forthwith the two disappeared in the womb of the earth. They then rushed on through winding ways to the damp chamber where Zinnat was to meet her doom.

Everything was now in readiness. The grim Abyssinian slave who was charged with the gruesome task had finished the outfit and nothing remained but for Zinnat to put on the noose. Then

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one pull and in another moment her fair body would be hanging in the lurid light over the dark water of the well underneath. Gulzar grasped the situation in an instant and rushed for the slave. Fatima however held him back and approaching him held out a bag of sparkling gold. "Take this," she said, "and let the girl go."

"And get myself hanged for all my pains," grinned the monster; "nay madam, that can never be."

Fatima held out a passport which she had secured and said, "With this you will pass out of the palace before the night is over. And then all this gold will be yours, and this pearl necklace to boot." She plucked out the necklace Mumtaz had given her.

But the executioner was incorrigible. He pulled Zinnat by the hand and she swooned away at the touch. That moment Gulzar could contain himself no longer but gave the slave a great blow with his staff, which threw him to the ground. Fatima instantly knocked off the Tartar girl's torch with hers and the two lights fell into the dark waters leaving the chamber in utter darkness. In the meantime with another well judged blow Gulzar threw back the other girl and in that darkness the two silently disappeared with Zinnat, while the two Tartar girls and the executioner were struggling with one another with the idea that each had caught one of the miscreants.

Gulzar took the unconscious girl in his arms and caught the skirt of Fatima who led him through the dark to a chamber just underneath the Jasmine Tower. A slightly barricaded window there looked out to the lower ramparts. The barricade was rotten and yielded to the manipulations of Gulzar. The two then jumped with their burden to the ramparts where they met a warder who was not unknown to Fatima. Fatima thrust the bag of gold into his hands and, with the assistance of the warder, Gulzar slowly descended into the sandbed of the river. Fatima showed him a small skiff a little way up the stream and he disappeared with his burden.

Fatima then retraced her steps to the Zenana, gathered her small kit and disappeared with the aid of her passport that very night. She had once thought of seeing Mumtaz for her reward, but she had lost all faith in her mistress and could not venture herself again in her presence.

VIII

Gulzar took Zinnat to a little hut down the Jumna he had built himself while incognito. There he laid her down and nursed her with all the care and skill he had. He called in the assistance

of a *hakim* and their joint labours succeeded in bringing her back to consciousness three days later. On the third day Zinnat opened her curious eyes and threw wild glances on all sides. Gulzar was frightened and drew near to watch her closely. Catching sight of him Zinnat faintly asked "Who are you? Where am I? Where is the Emperor?"

"I am Gulzar, my dearest, it is my cottage. Rest in peace, the Emperor will no more do you harm."

"Harm? What do you mean? How could I come here?"

Gulzar was greatly distressed at her showing what seemed to him to be signs of forgetfulness and insanity. With loving care he sought to remind her of all their past life. It was all in vain. Two days more passed before she could clearly grasp the situation. Then she sat up in her bed.

She was considerably reduced by her trials but even in her pale cheeks there was the impress of a melancholy beauty which you may not often see. In her bright eyes was a majesty which bespoke the temper of an empress and her whole figure wore a commanding attitude to which she was used from her childhood and which was greatly enhanced by her lofty place. She signed to Gulzar to approach and in a faint but firm tone said, "Gulzar, you are a coward and a traitor. How dared you carry away the Emperor's wife?"

Gulzar was unprepared for such words and did not know what to say. "My love," he mumbled out, but Zinnat sharply stopped him. "You must not talk like that. You did a very bad thing to bring me away. My master bade me die and why did you stand in my way?"

"But Zinnat, it is for you that I have done it. Is not a life like yours a sweeter, prettier thing than should be thrown away in this fashion? You were not made for a queen. God made you for me and He has brought you back to me. Be mine, and ages of life and joy shall be ours."

"Traitor," screeched out the fainting girl, "how dare you talk like that? Is not my husband the greatest king on earth? Has he not bidden me die? Who are you to stand between him and me? Be yours! assuredly, to be a beggar, a thief's wife, a traitor's spouse! That is really a destiny worthy of an Empress!"

She gasped for breath. Gulzar's head reeled and for him the world became again the rotten old thing that it had been for the whole of the last year. She did not love him, and yet was it not she that had sent him the dear little scroll from the Rung

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Mehal which he had kept as a treasure ever since ? Poor Gulzar, he little knew Zinnat had sent the letter only as a bait to have him caught in the arms of his family once again !

As soon as she could speak again Zinnat said, "You thought you would do me good but you have done me a grievous wrong. I forgive you however ; for you did it all for misplaced and misguided affection. However, if you really repent your misdeed make amends for it." She plucked out her pearl necklace and threw it at him as she said, "Take that and get me a conveyance. I must be taken to His Majesty's presence immediately."

"But"—

"I must be obeyed ; if you will not, I shall have some one else do my bidding. Now go away without a moment's delay." Gulzar was stupefied and went away.

IX

The news of Zinnat's escape was not reported. The persons in charge of her execution found it most advantageous to lie by agreement, and it was known in the Rung Mehal that Zinnat had been hanged.

Mumtaz wept bitterly. Jehanara sighed in relief. The Emperor received the news with seeming indifference, but the news had stung him more than any other event of his eventful life. The state of his mind was not improved when Mumtaz in her anguish bitterly rebuked him, charged him with the blood of an innocent creature, and told him the true state of affairs as she had heard from Fatima. But, all the same, he gave no indication of any disquietude. Mumtaz however did feel in her calmer moments what a deep gap the missing girl had left in his heart and what a deep wound was inly bleeding within him. She then cursed herself that she had cruelly added to the smart of the blow.

When the Emperor was just accommodating himself to the situation as best he could, Fate planned out for him another blow that brought him down altogether. That morning he had made his usual appearance at the Am-Durbar. Thousands of anxious faces thronged in the spacious court-yard in front of the Dewan-i-Am, the majestic white building on an elevated platform in which was the *Jharoka*, the small chamber with the magnificent Peacock Throne. The nobles of the realm stood at their appointed places in the colonnaded hall and the vizier sat just below the platform of the throne. The appearance of the emperor at this Durbar was usually of a ceremonial character and generally of short duration. It was the vizier who usually dispensed justice and discharged other public

functions at the Durbar. But since the supposed death of Zinnat the Emperor had taken upon himself the entire work in connection with the Durbar, presumably to keep himself engaged and free from the compunctions which troubled his soul.

The work of the Durbar was well nigh completed when a covered palanquin made its appearance at the foot of the hall. All eyes were on it when the door opened and a slight and slim graceful figure, all covered with a green *orna*, slowly advanced to the foot of the Emperor's *Jharoka*. There she raised her veil and the Emperor saw to his amazement—Zinnat.

She looked straight with firm eyes to the Emperor, made him a formal bow and said, "My master, you bade me die. Pardon me that I live yet. It was not for any fault of mine—I would carry out your order if I could. But I had fainted and was carried away by some friends. This morning I gained the full use of my faculties and I hasten to submit to your Majesty's command. Forgive me that I have lived so long. I would not live when you bade me die. Yet I would not then die. I would fain have one glance at your beloved face and tell you only for once that I am innocent before I died. In my inmost heart I never knew any other man but you, and I never desired any company in this life or the life hereafter but yours. My Master, your slave is not *faithless*. She is no traitor that she would keep the life that is forfeited to the sovereign. I submit therefore to your Majesty's command. Bid your executioner do his work and watch him, lest somebody should again come between your command and me."

The Emperor was stupefied. Rapturous joy reigned above every other feeling, but he kept the dignity and composure of his position and commanded the queen to be led to the Rung Mehal and reinstated in her position. But Zinnat started back. "No," she said, "I do not come for mercy. I come to suffer my sentence. My life is worth nothing to me once you have doubted my faith. Not for worlds would I gain share your bed, though that is a heaven to me. My liege, it is vain. I have come to die and I will die. Only let me die as a queen, at the bidding of her sovereign. Do not give me mercy. Mercy is not the thing for the queen of the greatest king on Earth." Her weak nerves had been greatly tried and after this supreme effort she fell back in a swoon with the last words on her lips. She was instantly carried away by anxious hands into the Rung Mehal where the Emperor rushed to see her.

But she was no more. Uttering her dignified scorn for mercy,

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her lofty soul had passed away to where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. She had come to die and in death she loftily bore the pride and majesty that had been her share from birth. She was made for a queen, she had borne herself as a queen all her life, and had passed away with all the glory and the majesty of a queen.

The whole harem rushed to see her dear face. Mumtaz held her in the sweetest dearest embrace and imprinted kiss upon kiss on her pale cold lips. They hoped she was yet alive. But the *hukim* soon disillusioned them: When the Emperor arrived at the spot every one knew that she had passed away. But the proud disdain and meek submission was yet printed on her face; her lips seemed yet curled up in scorn, and her velvet eyelids only seemed to cover her limpid eyes with soothing sleep.

No one ventured to break the news to the Emperor. He saw Mumtaz hiding her face in Zinnat's clothes; he looked at everybody's face and then leaned over the sweet girl. He knew she was dead.

He then softly printed a kiss on those dead lips and silently drew back. One sigh, and that was all that he deigned to give to the world to gauge the sorrow at his heart—a heart that was well-nigh crushed by this second and final death of his most beloved consort. He heaved a sigh and silently stood apart. Mumtaz then looked up. For one moment she cast her glance at the Emperor and then she threw herself into his arms and, hiding her face in his heart, sobbed out "My master, what have you done?"

Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta

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SELECTIONS

MALAVIKAGNIMITRAM

The development of Kalidasa's mind and art is best exhibited in his dramas of which three are known to exist, namely, *Malavikagnimitra*, *Vikramorvasi* and *Abhijnana-Sakuntala*. They show the same family likeness, the development of the same art and the stamp of the same genius. The first is historical, the second is based on a Vedic legend, and the third on a semi-historical and semi-mythical Pauranika legend. The characters of the first are all human, of the second some human and some divine, and of the third some human, some divine, and some semi-divine. The scene of the first is laid entirely on this earth, of the second in earth and in heaven and of the third in earth, in heaven, and in the intervening space between earth and heaven. The inner meaning of all of the poetical works of Kalidasa seems to be the glorification of Brahminism as opposed to all other forms of religion prevalent at his time in India. With Buddhism spreading far and wide, with Jainism counting its votaries by millions, Kalidasa speaks only of Brahminism. He never mentions any of these religions, even by name, and never introduces any character professing any other form of religion than Brahminism.

In taking up a historical theme Kalidasa rejects the most glorious Buddhist dynasties of India, the Mauryas and the Kusanas. His *Malavikagnimitra* depicts the story of the Brahminic revival under the Mitras otherwise called the Sungas. The founder of the dynasty, Pusyamitra, was a Brahminist and is regarded in all Buddhist countries as a persecutor of Buddhism. He was the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya king. He defeated and drove away the Yavanas from Middle India and killed the puppet king in the midst of a grand fête by which the foolish king wanted to celebrate the return of the victorious general to Pataliputra. He remained at Pataliputra in charge of the affairs of the Maurya empire, under the modest name of Senapati. The great empire of Asoka had already been broken up, Kalinga and Andhra had already declared their independence. Western India was within the grasp of the Baktrian Greeks. Pusyamitra, himself hailing from Vidisa and Eastern Malwa, made his son assume the title of Raja and act

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independently of the Mauryas. About this time there was a disputed succession in the Vidarbha or the Andhra country, and Agnimitra taking advantage of the civil war in Vidarbha was trying hard to establish his sway in that country. One of the parties in this dispute, Madhavasena, in order to strengthen his cause, by giving his sister Malavika in marriage to Agnimitra, was proceeding to Vidisa when a frontier officer of his rival, Yajnasena, defeated Madhavasena and cast him into prison. But the minister of Madhavasena, Sumati by name, managed to join a caravan proceeding to Vidisa with Malavika and his sister Kausiki. On the road the caravan was overpowered by dacoits, Sumati was killed in the affray, Kausiki fell into a swoon and Malavika was carried away by the dacoits. Virasena, Agnimitra's commander-in-chief and brother-in-law, fell in with the dacoits, secured the person of this beautiful damsel and presented her to his sister Dharini the chief queen of Agnimitra. Not knowing her parentage, Dharini made her one of her maids-of-honour and finding that she possessed a taste for fine arts engaged a dancing master to teach her the arts of dancing and singing.

All this looks like history. There is nothing improbable in all this. Kalidasa takes the story from traditions current in his time. But there are deeper reasons to call the play a historical one. Asoka in his inscriptions wanted to put down the Brahmins. He declares with pride that he has made those who were regarded as true gods on earth, *i. e.*, the Brahmins, false gods. He put a stop to animal sacrifice throughout his empire. He took away the privilege of the Brahmins in the matter of law suits, and their immunity from punishment; and above all he destroyed their influence in society by establishing a class of officials, called the superintendents of morals. Though he professed toleration in all religious matters, his real policy was to curb the influence of the Brahmins.

But within a few decades after his death a new power arose which was entirely in the hands of the Brahmins and these gained so much power and influence under the new dynasty that in a short time they were enabled to establish a dynasty of their own. But that belonged to a period subsequent to that of this drama. In the drama itself we find Pusyamitra, the Senapati of the Mauryas, performing a horse sacrifice at the very capital of Asoka, and his daughter-in-law, Dharini, the queen of Vidisa, is represented as paying so much as eight hundred gold mohurs as a permanent grant to Brahmins engaged in teaching the Sastras, in order that they might pray for the success of Vasumitra, while escorting the

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sacrificial horse. Agnimitra again is surrounded by Brahmins—his chamberlain is a Brahmin of the Maudgalya gotra, his jester is a Brahmin of the Gautama gotra and the nun is of the Kausika gotra. All this looks like a revival of Brahminism under a persecutor of Buddhism. From history, too, we learn that under the fostering care of Pusyamitra flourished the great Patanjali, the writer of the *Mahabhashya* on Panini, which settled the idiom of Sanskrit or the purified speech. This aimed a decided blow at the vernacularising tendency of the new sects and specially of Asoka.

There are two other statements in this play which stamp it as a historical one. One is that the sacrificial horse was attacked by the Greeks on the right bank of the Indus and that they were repelled by Vasumitra, the grandson of the great saviour of India from Greek invasions, who was then still living; and history tells us that about 170 B.C. the Greeks expelled from Baktria established their sway in 'Afganistan. The other is that a big officer of the Mauryas, against whom Agnimitra and his father were working, was put in prison by Agnimitra. This officer was no other than the wife's brother of Yajnasena, who was, when the drama opens, the master of the Vidarbha country, and who when Agnimitra interfered for the liberation of Madhavasena demanded an exchange of prisoners and asked for the release of his brother-in-law. At this Agnimitra gets furious and orders Virasena to proceed at once to Vidarbha and to coerce Yajnasena. In this enterprise Virasena succeeds admirably; he divides the kingdom into two halves with the Warda for their boundary and places the cousins Madhavasena and Yajnasena over them. It was after this settlement that Agnimitra set free all prisoners and along with them the brother-in-law of Yajnasena, who was feebly upholding the cause of the Mauryas.

The story of the play runs thus :—

King Agnimitra was married to Dharini, by whom he had a son, Vasumitra, and a daughter, Vasulaksmi. Dharini was of noble birth, a gifted lady, rather religiously inclined, a perfect master of her temper and an adept in intrigue. But her age was against her; she had a handsome maid, rather low-born, an expert in fine arts who attracted the attention of the king and caught his fancy. In a short time, the maid became the darling of the king who married her and was all attention to her. This of course roused the jealousy of the elder queen who was quietly watching an opportunity to ruin her, but in outward appearance she was perfectly friendly with her rival and showed her all the consideration which the mistress of

the palace should show to her co-wives. But she was all gall and wormwood to her rival. When she was in this frame of mind, her brother Virasena presented her with a beautiful damsel of unknown parentage. This was Malavika. The queen at once saw that Malavika was more handsome than Iravati, her rival, and if properly trained would soon surpass her in fine arts and so she engaged a first class dancing-master for the purpose of giving the new maid a finished training; but she took particular care to conceal her from the sight of the king whose amorous propensities were too well-known to her. Her object was to bring her to the notice of the king when she would be head and shoulders above Iravati in every respect. But an accident brought Malavika to the notice of the king before Dharini's plans were matured. One day when he came to the picture-room, he found Dharini looking at a newly-drawn picture of herself with her attendants, the paint not yet dry. Among the attendants he marked a very beautiful damsel and asked Dharini who she was. Dharini gave no reply, but Vasulaksmi innocently said that was Malavika. From that time the king became very anxious to see her, but the queen guarded her so carefully that he did not succeed. He then had recourse to his Vidusaka, who set another dancing master against the teacher of Malavika, knowing fully well that specialists are very sensitive of their position amongst the professors of their own art. The two quarrelled amongst themselves and at last they appealed to the king to decide which of them was the greater adept in the art of dancing. The king held a council with Dharini and a learned nun, Dharini's attendant; and it was resolved that their proficiency was to be tested by the performances of their pupils, and the nun was appointed umpire. This brought Malavika to the presence of the king and the intrigues of the jester were admirably successful. The play does not say anything about the dancing of the pupil of the rival master. But it is incidentally mentioned that Ganadasa was better off, because of the accomplishment of his pupil.

The king fell in love with the picture of Malavika and was anxious to see her. Now that he saw her, he wanted to make her his own and the jester was his *confidant*. This shrewd man gained over Vakulavalika, the attendant of Malavika, and employed her to bring Malavika and the king together.

A splendid opportunity soon presented itself. The naughty Vidusaka contrived to throw Dharini from a swing. This prevented her from kicking an Asoka tree which was rather tardy in flowering. It is said that if an Asoka tree does not flower, a kick from a

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beautiful damsel brings out its flowers. Dharini deputed Malavikā, as she was very handsome, for the purpose, holding out a hope at the same time, that if the Asoka flowered within five days she would give her what she desired.

Malavika was introduced into the Asoka grove, musing and soliloquising on her love, which seemed to her to be absolutely unattainable. Just at this juncture entered Vakulavalika who dressed her and painted her feet with lac-dye and in the course of her conversation gave her to understand that she knew her affection for the king and that she was prepared to help them. The ceremony of kicking is performed and the king and the jester, who have long been watching her action, present themselves before Malavika and the king professes his affection for her. Just at this moment another couple, Iravati and her attendant, who have been watching the proceedings from another quarter, enter appearance and Iravati scolds the king for his low amours with a maid-servant. She is very bitter and the jester's answers are equally bitter. The king wants to appease her but in vain. He kneels down at her feet but she heeds him not and leaves in rage. She goes to the chief queen Dharini, complains of the king's conduct, and implores her to punish Malavika for her daring feat. Malavika and her attendant maid are cast into a dungeon, closely guarded by sentries and by a maid of the queen, who is to let her loose on no account except on seeing the queen's signet ring. This was done with consummate skill. It disarmed all suspicion on the part of Iravati, and it showed to the outside people that Dharini was not meditating a marriage between Malavika and the king in order to ruin Iravati. It was really a master stroke of policy. To show that she was sincere, she offered even to mediate between the king and Iravati, and the simple Iravati was so glad to hear it. The news of Malavika's imprisonment reaches the king and he is in a fix. But the ever-ready jester plays a trick. He feigns snake-bite; a snake charmer is called, who sends for a ring bearing the form of a snake. The Queen unhesitatingly parts with her ring for saving the life of the Brahmin and the jester liberates Malavika with her attendant, with the help of the ring. The king and Malavika meet at a house in the garden, and the jester guards the door. Here again Iravati with her attendant comes to congratulate the jester, who is reported to be there, on his recovery from the snake-bite. But lo! he has fallen fast asleep; and what more, he speaks out in a dream; and what does he say?—"O Malavika, excel thou Iravati." This was too much for the attendant. She calls him ungrateful and throws

at him the crooked stick which a jester always carries with him, and he screams out "A hooded serpent! A hooded serpent!" This brings the king and Malavika from out of the room and they meet Iravati. She is even more caustic than before and the king does not know what to say. All on a sudden, news is brought that Vasulaksmi has been greatly frightened by a brown monkey and this saves the king from the hands of Iravati.

Malavika was greatly disappointed at two successive opportunities being frustrated of having a *tete-a-tete* with the king and was very sad and pensive. As all others had left the place, she was alone with Vakulavalika giving vent to her feelings of disappointment, when somebody from behind the scene spoke in a loud voice, "Look the Asoka is in flower!" This gave the attendant maid an opportunity of consoling Malavika, and here the fourth Act ends.

In the fifth Act, the chief queen invites the king to witness the tree in flower, and there proposes to join the hands of Malavika and the king in marriage. About this time the chamberlain brings in two maids versed in fine arts and presents them to the king on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief, Virasena. They come and at once recognise Malavika as the princess of the Vaidarbha line and the sister of Madhavasena, and the nun as the sister of Sumati, slain by dacoits. Dharini apologises to Malavika for treating her all along as a maid-servant, and offers her to the king in marriage, with the title of Devi or queen, as she belonged to a high lineage.

The best characters in this smart, artistic, and charming drama are the jester and Iravati. Iravati was a maid of honour to the queen Dharini, an expert in fine arts, young and exceedingly handsome. The king fell in love with her and she reciprocated his feelings. She was neither mischievous nor intriguing. She was sincere and her love was of an ethereal kind. The king was greatly attached to her and had a great respect for her. He knew that she was of a very sensitive nature and could brook no rival in love. Though Dharini was exceedingly jealous of a maid-servant's ascendancy over her husband, Iravati was thoroughly loyal to her. She treated her with all the consideration which belonged not only to the chief queen and the governess of the palace but to her former mistress and patroness. But she could not brook the least thought that the king should transfer his affection to any other maiden. She does not appear to be very high-born and was given to drinking. She was not at all aware what tricks Dharini was playing to ruin her, by introducing another girl to the king's notice. And as it was through the jester that she gained the affection of

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the king, she always took care in her deep sense of gratitude to feed the greedy Brahmin with sweets. She is introduced as a character with the third Act, though from the beginning the queen's attendants talk of Malavika as excelling Iravati in arts. It was the advent of spring. All round there were festivities. Iravati was anxious to enjoy the pleasures of the season with accessories of love and wine. She invites the king to enjoy a swing with her. The king whose mind is now fixed on Malavika hesitates to go, for he knew the character of Iravati full well. He says therefore, "It is better to make excuses, for with another girl in my mind I should not see Iravati, for she is too jealous and too watchful not to discover me, and the consequences of the discovery would be dire." But the Vidusaka induces him to go to the garden, for he had other objects in view.

Iravati comes to the swinging room tipsy with wine, accompanied by her faithful hand-maid Nipunika, fully expecting in her innocent simplicity, that the king would be there before her, as the king was, as Nipunika thought, all love and affection to her.

But he was not there. She thought he must be playing hide and seek with her. She goes with her attendant to seek him but wine was producing its effect on her. She sees Malavika musing under the Asoka tree, she sees Vakulavalika bringing the queen's anklets for her, and she guesses that all these preparations are for the kicking of the Asoka tree. But lo! the king enters the scene and dallies with Malavika. This surprises her—could the king entertain affection for any other woman and that again a maid-servant? But when she hears the king saying to Malavika, "I am like the Asoka; the Asoka does not show flower, and I cannot show my patience; touch me with your nectarous touch and fill me with joy," she loses all her patience. She intrudes into their amour crying, "Fill, fill." The king was at his wit's end, so was the jester. The king falters forth an excuse 'I was only whiling away my time in your absence by holding a conversation with these.' But the jester picks up a quarrel with Iravati saying, "Do you think that a conversation with the queen's maid is wrong? In that case, how could the king talk to you?" Iravati in her chagrin speaks out her mind: "If I knew that my husband had such objects to console him I would not have been what I am." In reply to Vidusaka, she says—^A "Let him hold a conversation. Why should I any longer trouble myself about it?" She feels that she is lost for ever. She repeats several time, "Oh! deceitful man! No faith is to be put on you." Her waist-band gets slackened and she is hampered in her attempt

to leave the scene. The king says, "The waist-band comes into my rescue, she implores you not to leave me." She picks up the waist-band and attempts to strike him with it. He holds her hand and falls at her feet. In her bitterness she cries, "These are not the feet of Malavika," and leaves the scene.

There was a room in the garden called the Samudragriha. That was perhaps the place where Iravati first met the king. There was a picture of the king with his eyes rivetted on Iravati in the midst of the members of his seraglio. Iravati, conscious that she has acted discourteously to the king and that it is necessary to appease him, proceeds with Nipunika to that room. "Why to that room?", asks Nipunika. "To appease my husband in the picture," replies Iravati. "Why not proceed to the master?", asked Nipunika. To this Iravati replied, "There is no difference between the portrait of my husband and my husband whose heart is fixed on another." This is the softest, the sweetest, and the bitterest expression of disappointment. She feels that she is faithful to the core, but that her feelings are not reciprocated. Still she clings to him but dares not face him and has no heart to face him. She would rather cling to the picture which would bring to her mind the happiest days of her life. But even here disappointment was in store for her. The king and Malavika were in the Samudragriha. The poet with consummate art did not take her into the room, but dismisses her from outside. The news of the snake-bite recalled to her mind the good offices of Vidusaka in her own days and she was very anxious to see him hale and hearty after his recovery. And when Nipunika informed her that he was fast asleep on the veranda of the Samudragriha she hastened to see him. What happened there has already been said. But the Vidusaka was dreaming of Malavika, and was crying in his dream, "Malavika, excel Iravati." This brings out a remark from Nipunika that the Brahmin was ungrateful, and that he should be frightened in his dream. She throws the crooked staff, used by jesters, on the dreaming Brahmin who screams out "A hooded serpent," "A hooded serpent." The king comes out of the room with Malavika following, dissuading him to go out of doors as there was a serpent. Iravati was not prepared for all this. Her bitterness knew no bounds when she saw that her favourite Samudragriha was the place of assignation of this amorous couple; and she was too simple to conceal her disappointment and rage. And when the king said, "Your anger is misplaced," she replied: "Just so, when my good luck has forsaken me and gone to others, my anger would make me a butt of ridicule." There is an end of

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Iravati. The charming lady, so loving, so affectionate, is now absolutely conscious of her nothingness. The scene between the king, Iravati and Vidusaka was too bitter for Kalidasa and with a masterhand he introduces a change. News is brought that Vasulaksmi has been frightened very much by a brown monkey and that she was trembling and refusing all consolation. Iravati forgets all her woe and entreats the king to proceed at once to the place of occurrence and leaves the place with him. This is one of the tenderest traits of Iravati's character. Vasulaksmi was not her daughter but Dharini's, yet she was so tender to her.

At the marriage of Malavika, Iravati does not come. But Dharini sends a message to Iravati, in a manner asking her permission to celebrate the marriage, to which Iravati cordially assents though not without a sigh and an expression of dependency. Her last message to the king after the marriage, through Nipunika, is full of pathos—"I am guilty of discourtesy to you and I have not acted loyally to you. But you have *now gained your end*. Pardon me, and that is all I ask." And the sore point is that the king does not reply to this, he is so much absorbed in other thoughts. Dharini sends the return message: "My husband will certainly accede to your wishes."

The jester is a clever rogue, the best of his kind in Sanskrit dramatic literature and may compare favourably with Shakespere's fools. He was smart and ready, full of resources and of infinite fun. His sole object is to please the king and to amuse him. Intrigue was the order of the day and he was a master intriguer. Wit he possessed in an eminent degree but not always without its sting. Compared with him the Vidusaka of Sakuntala is dull and commonplace. He enters in the first act with a smart plot to hood-wink the queen and to bring Malavika before the king in spite of her. He knew fully well that two of the same trade cannot agree. He praised and abused the two dancing masters in such a way that he set them one against the other and their bickerings rose to such a pitch, outside the court, that it attracted the attention of the king, who at once knew what it was, and congratulated his friend on his cleverness. By means of this quarrel, Vidusaka succeeded in bringing out Malavika, the pupil of one of the dancing-masters, as it was decided that the real test of a master lies in training his pupils. And the beauty of the thing is that Dharini was made to come to the scene opposing every step taken by the king and the jester to bring Malavika to the sight of the king, and getting thwarted in every step. The nun was

made the umpire, she helped the cause of the king, but always trying to be complacent with the queen. Dharini in her disappointment once had to remark : " Foolish nun, I am wide awake and you take me to be asleep." The Queen was opposed to the quarrel, for she knew that their ulterior object was the revelation of Malavika. But the Vidusaka kept on exciting Ganadasa who was specially in the employ of the Queen. Ganadasa's excitement was roused to such a pitch that he threatened to throw off her service if this fair competition was disallowed, and if he was to smart under the ignominy heaped upon him by a rival and to hide his diminished head in public. This really confused the queen ; and confusion at such a time means defeat. The king often became very impatient, but the witty Vidusaka standing by his side gave him hints, broad or narrow, to be circumspect.

At the dancing scene, the Vidusaka, on a frivolous pretext, detained Malavika, thus giving the king an opportunity to look more closely at her beauty. He also wanted to make a love-present from the king to Malavika ; so he wanted to take away the king's bracelet and to give it to Malavika, ostensibly to reward her proficiency in dancing. This proved too much for Dharini and she interfered saying, " How could you give a reward when the competition is not yet over ?" But the witty jester easily averted the anger of Dharini by saying, " I want to give away the bracelet, simply because it belongs to another."

When Malavika was gone, the king was very sad. But he was bound to stay till the performance of the pupil of the other master was over. Just at this moment the bards announced that the sun had reached the meridian. The Vidusaka, taking advantage of this, bawled out that it was dinner-time, and read a lecture to those present on the effect of taking a meal, after the proper time, on health. This brought the second Act to a close and the poet avoided inflicting another dancing scene on the audience.

The jester's plot was so far successful. The king wanted to see Malavika in person and he saw her, and that in spite of strenuous opposition, both covert and overt from Dharini. But success only inflamed the king. He was now anxious for an interview and a *tete-a-tete*, and how was it to be brought about ? There was only one way—to have recourse to the jester. And he was ready. He won over the hand-maid of Malavika and employed her to bring about a meeting in some private place. It was he who threw Dharini from a swing and injured her feet, and thereby got rid of one obstacle to the meeting. It not only removed an obstacle but offered an

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opportunity. The jester insisted on the king, against his will, to attend the invitation of Iravati at the pleasure garden. His motive was, as explained by Nipunika, of a gluttonous nature. But other adventures were waiting upon the friends. A mere chance brought Malavika, in a secluded corner of the garden, in front of the king. The Vidusaka, espied her first and rather naughtily said "की की सीडुपायुव्येज्जिदसु मच्छन्दिता उवचदा."

But the cleverness of the jester appears to the best advantage in the fourth Act where he fawns a snake-bite. Knowing fully well that nothing but the serpent-ring of Dharini could liberate Malavika from the dungeon in which she has been thrown, he goes into the garden, pricks his thumb with the thorns of the Ketaki flower, ties it with his holy thread, goes shrieking to the queen and shows all the signs of snake-bite. The king sends him to the snake-charmer and he sends a message that nothing but a serpent ring placed with charms and incantations on a pot of water would cure the Brahmin. And this induces Dharini to part with the ring. In the fifth Act too, it is the Vidusaka that manages to procure the title "Devi" for Malāvika.

He is conscious of his cleverness. He is also conscious that he is illiterate. In reply to a stricture pronounced upon him by Iravati, he says pertinently : "If I had learnt even a single letter of politics I would not serve a king like this." With all his cleverness he had no sense of responsibility, otherwise he would not have slept while guarding the door of the Samudragriha. Like all clever intriguers he is loyal to none. His sole business was to please the king and to get his living. While feigning snake-bite he spoke only of the maintenance of his mother. He had no respect for Iravati, though as long as the king smiled on her he appeared to be all for her. But as soon as the king said "नकिमुमलिनो लब्ध्वायोजनपेक्षते मतङ्गजः" he had no scruples to say to the face of Iravati that she was once a maid-servant. For the dancing masters he had this much respect that he called them fighting rams. The honoured nun he called a parasite. Even the honoured Queen Dharini was not beyond the range of his evil tongue. He ridiculed her as "cat-eyed." The king too did not escape the sting of his wit. He called him a monkey, at his back, "Hallo, brown monkey, you have saved your own kind." Witty and clever, he was thoroughly unscrupulous and cared for none but himself. The Vidusaka was clever when he had time to think, but if anything happened unexpectedly he was at his wit's end. He advised the king to take to his heels when Iravati suddenly appeared, and saw the king making love to Malavika. At

the Samudragriha, too, he was at his wit's end. He was found out and confused.

These are the two most prominent characters in this little drama. One is simple, easy-going, confiding, while the other is crooked, resourceful and faithless. Iravati loves the king with her whole soul while the jester loves nobody but himself. As soon as Iravati perceives that the king's affections are directed in a different quarter she hides herself and considers herself as lost. But the Vidusaka wants to float, no matter whom he sacrifices. Iravati is prepared to live in the past, sacrificing the present and the future altogether, while Vidusaka lives only in the present and never speaks of the past and the future. Iravati is a woman and a loving woman, the Vidusaka is a courtier with his mind always fixed on the main chance. These are the two characters whom Kalidasa has played one against the other and they form the real back-bone of the play.

Of the other characters, the Parivrajika is an unique creation in Sanskrit literature. She has all the education and culture of a wealthy Brahmin family of high social position. She comes to Vidisa as a nun and like an angel watches over the destiny of Malavika in her slavery. She completely conceals her relation with Malavika and wins the full confidence of the king and the queen. She is the confidential adviser of Dharini and keeps a complete watch over what happens in the palace. It is she who gives the information about Malavika's imprisonment and also of the means by which she might be rescued. In the first and second Acts she shows a leaning towards the king's side, though she comes in company with the queen and was apparently her friend. There also she was arranging everything like a guardian angel, in the interest of Malavika. But what we admire in her is her culture. In a distinguished court like that of Agnimitra, she is made the umpire in a quarrel between two expert masters. She chooses the subject for competition, and the choice shows her intimate acquaintance with the fine arts of her time. This is also apparent from the fact that Dharini employs her for decorating the person of Malavika, as a bride, to be offered to the king. She also suggests the remedies in a snake-bite.

She has perfect self-composure in the midst of a variety of intrigues in the palace and gains her object at the end. She keeps up her character as a nun and has a good word for everybody on every occasion. At the last scene after offering Malavika in marriage to the king, Dharini feels that she has sacrificed herself, that Malavika is not another Iravati, and looks blank at the Parivrajika, who has a word of consolation of her.

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King Agnimitra is one of the most fortunate men that ever lived. He was the son of a great father, the saviour of India from foreign invasion and the destroyer of the great Maurya power in India. He was the supreme lord of Northern India, had an well-appointed army and a large body of able and faithful ministers. He gave his son the kingdom of Vidisa, *i.e.*, of Central India. Agnimitra had a son who had already distinguished himself in war. His army, or that portion of the army which was entrusted to him by his father, was victorious and his ministers gave him good and sound advice. As a man of action he was endowed with wonderful power of decision and of despatch in business. It is excusable if such a fortunate prince indulges in affairs of love. As in the work of administration so in the business of love too, his character for decision is remarkable. He was kind and courteous to all his wives, and he loved and respected them. His attitude towards Iravati in the third Act may appear to the modern monogamist society as unjustifiable and not sanctioned by the higher precepts of morality. But events which occurred two thousand years ago should not be judged according to the standard of the 20th century. But in this matter too, his decision of character is worthy of all praise. He knew that Iravati loved him tenderly and with all her heart. In fact she lived in love. For a time he hesitated to give the least shock to her feelings. But when she, in her impassioned love, behaved with him improperly, showed her temper before him, it was too much for his kingly pride. He decided to have nothing to do with her, and he took this as a god-send in his amours with Talavika. Iravati too came to the same decision, but from very different considerations. She thought she lived in the king's love ; when that love flowed in another direction she was disappointed, and in her despondency thought to have nothing to do with the king. And in this matter she certainly carried the sympathy of the audience.

In this little drama is exhibited a fine perception of the dramatic art by Kalidasa. This appears to be his first production in the historic art and he was very careful in making the drama suit the tastes of a highly cultured audience. There is no repetition, no dullness, no unnecessary verbosity, everything is smart, clever and terse. How he saved the audience from the infliction of a second dancing scene has already been adverted to and how the king was saved from an extremely awkward position, in the fourth Act, by the monkey, has also been pointed out.

The action of the play does not proceed as slowly as in other dramatic works in Sanskrit. But incidents do not follow in such

quick succession as in some modern novels. Events succeed one another in the natural course and the play is never tedious, dull, or monotonous. The characters are distinctly drawn and even the maid-servants and other inferior dramatic persons can be distinguished, one from another, by their speeches. The effect on the whole produced on the audience is pleasing and leaves a permanent impression in the mind. It is quite worthy of the great poet and of the great age in which it was written. It has all the characteristics of Kalidasa's poetry and it is suited to the taste of an eminently cultured society for which it was written. (HARAPRASAD SASTRI)

ORIENTAL RESEARCH

The object of Oriental research so far as India is concerned is to find out how Indian society and Indian civilization came to be in the condition in which we find them, and to trace the political history of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans. India, unfortunately, has no written history, with a few unimportant exceptions. The inquirer, therefore, has to satisfy himself with such information as he can gather indirectly from the literature of the country. This, though vast, fails us sometimes where a link is wanted between two stages of development either through the loss of the works representative of the intervening period, or their incorporation in a somewhat modernized form in larger works such as the Mahabharata and the Puranas. The authorities for the political history of the country are the inscriptions on stone and copper plates, of which we have a pretty large number, and coins. The notices about India contained in the works of travellers or visitors from the East and the West are also of very great value. The broad facts that have come to light by the use of these materials will now be briefly given.

After their separation from their kinsmen who settled in Europe, the Indian and Iranian Aryans lived for a long time together. But a movement towards the south-east always existed and eventually a large part of the combined races crossed the Hindu Kush in a continuous flow and settled on its Indian side. This was composed of many tribes, and these were the people whom the Rigveda hymns represent. There were three orders among them, those of the priests, the warriors, and the cultivators. The south-eastern movement continued, and the race spread over the country of the Seven Rivers, and ultimately over the whole of Northern India. At each

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step its progress was contested by aboriginal races who were called Danyas or Dasas, and were of a darker complexion. Over these, however, the Aryas ultimately triumphed, and the aboriginal races were reduced to slavery and formed the fourth order of the united community, that of the Sudras. Others were driven to the fastnesses of mountains, where they still exist in their rude condition. The aboriginal population was very large. The Sudras had to learn the language of their conquerors, and as their vocal organs were untrained to produce the sounds of the Aryan language and they were ignorant of special grammatical forms, they corrupted it in the same manner as the Celts and Germans did that of the Roman people and eventually formed out of it the Smdm, the Hindi, the Gujarati, Marathi, and the other languages of Northern India, as the latter formed the Italian, French, Spanish, etc. Ultimately, therefore, the Aryas had to adopt that form of their original language which was given to it by the races which they had reduced to subjection. As already stated, the Aryas were divided into many tribes, and the people they had conquered had also a great many among them. There were intermarriages between the two races, aboriginal women being often taken as inferior wives by the Aryas. There were some instances of Sudras also having married Aryan wives. The issue of the former marriage sometimes attained to the caste of the father after several generations. But generally they formed independent castes. The three orders mentioned gradually became tenacious of their privileges, and these several causes led to the formation of distinct castes. It is stated that the European Aryas also had the germs of caste among them; but the passion of a national unity strongly developed among them and those germs were burnt out.

The Indian Aryas had, like their European brethren, the rudiments of free political institutions. When Kshatriya tribes settled in a province, the name of the tribe in the place became the name of the province, and the Panchalas, Angas, Vangas, Vrijis, etc., collectively became identified with the countries in which they lived. And actually the existence of aristocratic republics is alluded to in Buddhist Pali books. But the rudiments of free political institutions did not grow in India; and no passion for national unity strong enough to trample under foot the germs of caste was developed, while the latter had a very luxuriant growth, with the results that we at present see. Why did the instinct of political freedom and a passion for national unity not grow in India, while they did among the Aryan races of Europe? Probably the cause

is to be sought in the rigidly despotic and tyrannical manner in which the conquering Aryas treated the subject races. One section of a community, especially if it be small, cannot continue to enjoy freedom if it rigidly denies it to the other and larger section, and cannot have the desire to be united with it by the national tie if it invariably despises the other as an inferior race, and denies it the ordinary rights of man. Just as the Aryas had to take back in a corrupted form the language they had given to them, the reasons in both cases being the same, *viz*, the preponderating number of the people of the subject races, and the same general level of civilization to which both the sections had attained.

The Aryans penetrated to Southern India at a comparatively late period—probably about the fifth century before Christ. At that time there were well-formed Dravidian communities which had attained to a high level of civilization. Hence the Aryans were not able to obliterate the peculiar languages of the people and to give them their own. On the contrary, they had to learn and use the languages of the Dravidian people. Hence the Telugu, Kanadī, the Tamil, etc., are non-Aryan languages, while the dialects spoken in Northern India are all derived from Sanskrit. Though the Aryan civilization did exercise a good deal of influence over the Dravidians, still these latter have preserved prominently many of their own peculiar characteristics, especially in religion, architecture and music.

The Vedic religion of sacrifices was fully developed when the Aryans in the course of their south-eastern migration reached Brahmavarta, or the country about Thanesvar, and held ground for a pretty long time. But soon the efficacy of merely mechanical sacrifices as a way to salvation and eternal bliss was called in question; and the counter movement originated with the Upanishads. From some passages of these it appears that the Kshatriya order was particularly active in original religious speculation; and in the course of time new ways of salvation were found. The Brahmans were of course interested in maintaining the system of sacrificial religion in which their services were indispensable. Kshatriyas had no interest in maintaining it, and hence their speculations on the subject were free and unfettered. Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was a Kshatriya, and so was Mahavira, the founder of Jainism. These deprecated the killing of animals in sacrifices as cruel and sinful, taught that sacrifices were not calculated to do any good to anybody, but on the contrary were harmful religiously, denied the authority of the Vedas which prescri-

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bed the sacrifices and propounded a system of moral discipline as the way to the highest good. They even denied the existence of God, or did not consider a belief in Him to be essential. A theistic system came to be established in the Satvata clan of Kshatriyas, and very likely Vasudeva, the Satvata chief, was its founder. It came to be known by the name of the Bhakti or Bhagavata school. Of these, it was Buddhism that in the beginning achieved signal success. At the time when King Asoka came to be favourably inclined towards it or became a convert to it, it began to rise in popular favour, and from the second century before Christ to about the end of the fourth century, it had among its adherents a large mass of people from princes down to the humblest workmen. Jainism began to rise in importance about the beginning of the second century of the Christian era ; but it did not gain much popularity till after the decline of Buddhism. The Bhakti school, though it existed and is alluded to in one inscription of the second century before Christ, does not appear to have acquired prominence in the early centuries of the Christian era, and sacrificial Brahminism was under a cloud during the period when Buddhism was popular. It must not at the same time be ignored that besides all these religions which found favour especially among the higher or cultivated classes, there were from the beginning popular gods and goddesses worshipped by ordinary people, and Siva with his phallic worship was one of these. Most, if not all, of these were in the beginning the gods of the aborigines, and they must have gone on worshipping them especially as they were debarred from the sacrificial religion. When Buddhism destroyed the importance of these, the Brahmins very probably reconstructed their pantheon admitting into it some of the aboriginal gods, and identifying them with Rudra or Vishnu of their Vedas.

In the fourth century there was a Brahminic revival, the religion of Buddha lost a considerable number of its adherents, and about this time another form of it known by the name of Mahayana rose into importance. The sacrificial religion was revived, but as it had lost its hold over the people, it did not make any marked progress, though vigorous efforts were made to set it up again ; and the worship of the popular deities which Brahmanism had adopted, Siva, Vishnu, the Sun, Skanda or Uiseka the goddess Durga and others, rose into favour. Vasudeva, the god of the Bhakti school, also came to be identified with Vishnu, and this school which had arisen independently became incorporated with the non-Brahmitism, and came to be regarded as one of the Brahminical systems. The several systems

of religion and philosophy connected with the name of Siva also seem to have come into importance about the time of the revival of Brahminism ; as also those connected with the name of the Devi, or the goddess in her benignant as well as terrific and dark forms. Thus popular Hinduism came to be elaborated when the Vedic sacrificial religion lost its importance on account of the spread of Buddhism, and it received a powerful impetus at the time of the Brahminic revival.

Each of the several Vedic tribes had a king, sometimes hereditary, sometimes elected. As stated before, there were a few republics about the time of the rise of Buddhism. But these and the elected kings soon disappeared. The normal political condition of India from the remotest times has been its being cut up into a number of states or kingdoms. There were eighty such* in the seventh century, when Houen T'sang, the Chinese traveller, visited the country. But it was a traditional policy for the ruler of one of these to fight with the rest or as many of them as possible and establish his paramount supremacy over them. In some of the oldest Sanskrit works, a good many kings are reported to have subjugated the earth on all sides, and performed the Asvamedha sacrifice, indicative of supreme sovereignty. Asoka was a supreme sovereign in the middle of the third century before Christ, and Harsha Vardhana of the seventh after Christ at the time of Houen T'sang's visit. The sway of this latter extended, however, over Northern India only, the supreme sovereign in the south being Pulakesi, the king of the three Maharashtras.

As to continuous history of the several provinces, we have none. There are genealogies of different royal families in the Mahabharata and the Puranas ; but a good many names at the beginning are mythical. The later* ones, however, must be historical ; for the names of the more recent dynasties given in the Puranas have been proved to be historical by the evidence of coins and contemporary inscriptions.

We will now give a short account of these. The first of these later dynasties is that of the Mauryas, founded by Chandragupta about 322 B. C. His grandson was the celebrated Asoka, who was crowned king about 271 B. C. and whose pious inscriptions are found on the different frontiers of his empire. The Mauryas were succeeded by the Sinigas, these by the Kanvayanas who were Brahmins and servants of the Sinigas, but who usurped the power of their masters, and lastly, we have the Andhrabhrityas or Satavahanas. These ruled over the south and had Dhanakata or

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Dhanakot for one of their capitals, the other being Paithan in the Maharatta country. The capital of the other dynasties was Pataliputra, near the modern city of Patna in Behar. The Siniga dynasty, inclusive of the Kanvayanas, became extinct about 73 B.C. and the Satavahanas about 218 A. D.

But long before this time, *i. e.*, about the beginning of the second century before Christ, foreigners from the West began to invade the country and found kingdoms there. The Bactrian Greeks came first and established themselves in the Punjab. Some of them carried their arms up to the Ganges. These were followed by the Sakas in the first century after Christ, and princes belonging to this race, who took the title of Kshatrapas and Mahakshatrapas, extended their conquests up to Mathura in the north and the Maratha country in the south. The Maratha Kshatrapas were, however, driven out by the Satavahanas in the course of one generation; but another dynasty of Kshatrapas ruled over the part of the country from Kathiawad to Malwa up to about 388 A. D. In the north, however, the Sakas and Kshatrapas were followed by the Indo-Parthians and these by the Kushanas who belonged to the Turkish race. The foreigners do not appear to have reigned over the country to the east of about Mathura in the north, and Kathiawad and Malwa in the south. In the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era a native dynasty, that of the Guptas, came to power at Pataliputra, and entered on a career of conquest. The fourth prince of the family, named Samudragupta, subjugated a large number of princes whose names are given in the inscription on a column at Allahabad, and performed the Asvamedha sacrifice, which, it is said, had fallen out of use for a long time. His son and successor, Chandragupta II or Vikramaditya, put an end to the Kushana dynasty in the north and the Kshatrapa dynasty in the south, and made Ujjayini as one of his capitals. It was under the Guptas that the Brahmanic revival of which I have spoken was conducted with vigour.

But the stream of migration from the west continued to flow on. Probably it had never stopped since the Aryans penetrated into the country, and we have had one continuous flow from that time to that of the modern Mogals. The Huns invaded India about the end of the fifth century, and for a time held sway over the part of the country up to the Central Provinces. A race of the name of Abhera migrated about the end of the fourth century. There is an inscription at Nasik dated in the ninth year of an Abhera prince. The Abheras exist in Nasik, and Ahir sonars or goldsmiths, Ahir

sutars or carpenters and other artisans of the Ahir or the Abhera race, are found in numbers in Khandesh. The Ahirs are spread over the northern provinces of India also. Similarly a race of the name Gujar migrated in a large mass to India. These people came by way of the Punjab to a province of which they gave the name of Gujarat or Gurjarasta, and finally settled in Rajputana and established a kingdom there. This portion of the country also was called Gurjaratra. Then the princes of the Pratihara branch of the race extended their dominions about the end of the eighth century to Kanan, and eventually another branch settled in the province of Tara, founded a powerful kingdom at Anahilapattana and gave to the province the same old name. Gurjarashtra was pronounced Gujarat. The Puranas mention a number of the foreign races, some of which have been traced. These new races adopted one or other of the religions of India, some becoming Buddhists and some worshippers of Siva or Mahesvara. They have all contributed to swell the number of the varieties of the Indian people and made a considerable addition to the existing number of castes. Some became, with perhaps a few remnants of the old Kshatriya order, our modern Rajputs, others were affiliated to the Vaisya order, and still others must have been stamped as Sudras. The races that followed these in modern India would also have been absorbed among Hindus, and the Pathanas and Mogals become Rajputs and castes of the Vaisya and Sudra orders, had not the prophet Mahomet given them a distinct religion which kept them apart from the other races.

The field of Indian research is, it will be seen, vast. Scholars and antiquarians have, during the last one hundred years, done a great deal. But much remains to be done. The examination of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana has but just begun. The philosophy of the various Brahminical schools, and that of early and later Buddhism, as well as Jainism, has yet to be carefully studied and the controversies between the sects clearly understood. The whole of the Pali Literature, calculated as it is to throw light on many a dark point in the history of India, has also to be closely examined. The remains of antiquity should be visited and described and impressions of inscriptions taken, and these should be translated by competent scholars and their historical value determined. What occurs in these and other branches of study is that the work of pioneers and their immediate successors is not final. It often has to be done again in the light of new discoveries or by more highly gifted persons. Hence the old and the new work together form a

heavy amount. If these studies are to progress, more men should enter the field. The Germans are students by nature, and enthusiastically devoted to the subject they take up. There is also a large number of Professors, each of the many universities having one' so that there is no fear that workers will be wanting in that country. France will also continue to pay its quota. It is to be hoped that the Universities in the United Kingdom will see the importance of one Sanskrit Professor at least; and that these Professors will find pupils. Why England should be behind Germany in these respects it is more than one can see. The Americans have been doing very good work, and will, I believe, continue to do so. They strike me as having taken Germans as their models, instead of their own kinsmen in England.

The spirit of inquiry is European and the methods are also European. Nq Pandit or Moulavie endeavoured before the arrival of the British to find out what those mysterious letters on the columns and rocks of Asoka or on the walls of the Karli cave temple meant. But we have now acquired the spirit of inquiry, and collect historical records and write historical works in our vernaculars. But whether we always exercise a critical judgment in dealing with our materials is more than I can say. Still, there have been some who have acquired both an inquisitive spirit and a critical skill from their European masters and added to them their closer familiarity with the thoughts of their countrymen. And these have worked in the field of Indian research and made by no means insignificant contributions to the stock of our knowledge. And our European friends have always generously acknowledged the work done by us when it was good. It has become my deliberate conviction that the field of Indian research should not be left entirely to Europeans or entirely to Indians. The Europeans, and especially the Germans, have the genius of conceiving and starting new points or lines of inquiry, and they pursue these resolutely, using the usual scientific methods. The strong point in the case of native scholars is their knowledge of the thoughts, and general ways of their countrymen, and provided they have made the critical method their own, are of use in detecting the errors that may have crept into the work of Europeans or correcting any wild conclusions they may have arrived at and will avoid them in their own work. On the other hand, it is quite necessary that the work of a native scholar should be scrutinized and approved by European scholars. For, a native is apt to run more wild in another direction if he is unacquainted with the scientific methods. It is to be hoped that

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the Government of India will take this fact into consideration in making appointments to the Departments connected with research, and will take measures for insuring a regular supply of Indian critical scholars by endowing a few research Fellowships in each of the Provinces.

The general policy of the Government of India has been to help research. They have been conducting the search for manuscripts for years, and formerly caused archæological surveys to be made. They have now organised an Archæological Department, but it is to be regretted that the object which the Department seeks to attain is principally the conservation of monuments. Fresh search of ancient monuments and historical investigation concerning them do not seem to attract the attention they deserve. It is even, in my opinion, necessary to revise the work done by former archæological surveyors but this too is not attended to. Again, it is of very great importance that the ruins of ancient towns, such as Ujjayni, should be excavated ; and especially of towns in the frontier province. I expect great results from the process. The present head of the Department is, it is said, an expert in the work of excavation ; and it is certainly not too much to expect that he should gladden the hearts of scholars and antiquarians by digging out something that will enable them to settle the date of Kanishka, or the identity of the great Vikramaditya, the patron of Kalidasa and others.—The Hon. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, C.I.E., in the *Times of India*.

THE INDIAN MUSSALMANS

When the *Times* describes the Indian Mussulmans as a homogeneous race with a common language, one need not be surprised if people who have never been in India are deluded. But I am surprised that your correspondent, General Tyrrell, a retired Indian officer, whose letter appears in the *Spectator* of the 19th January, should share such a delusion. He differs, indeed, from the *Times* as he admits that the Mahomedan conquerors were not originally of one race. They were, he says, Arabs, Afghans, Turks, and Persians, all talking, of course, very different languages. But he holds with the *Times* that the majority of Indian Mussulmans are descendants of these different peoples, who have in the course of time coalesced and now form one people speaking one language, Urdu. This delusion was quite common fifty years ago before the first Indian Census exposed it. I think, if the writer of the *Times*

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article referred to and your correspondent had studied the Census of 1901, they would not have resuscitated it.

Of the sixty-two and a half millions of persons professing the religion of Mahomet within the present confines of India, no less than twenty-seven millions belong to Bengal and Assam. Your correspondent says these are converts from Hindus of low caste. This is not quite correct. There are among them descendants of highly respectable Hindu families who were converted, some within the last two hundred years. And there are also a few descendants of Afghans, Arabs, Turks and Persians. According to the Census, 385,476 persons out of twenty-seven millions claim to be Saiads, Pathans and Moghals. So, on your correspondent's admission, I may fairly claim some twenty-seven million Indian Mussulmans in this province alone as being of the same race as their non-Mahomedan neighbours.

Next to Bengal, the Punjab has the largest number of Mussulmans, fourteen millions. Of these the Census Report writes : "Even in the North-West of India a large proportion of the present-day Mahomedans have little or no foreign blood in their veins, and of 14,141,122 Mahomedans in the Punjab only 1,114,243 are returned as Pathan, 491,789 as Baloch, 340,063 as Sheikh, 315,032 as Saiad, and 111,885 as Moghal. On the other hand, the Jats of this persuasion numbered nearly two millions, the Rajputs and Arams nearly one million each, and the Jolahas, Awans, Gujars, Muchis, Kumhars, Tarkhans, and Telis form one to two thirds of a million each. The vast majority of the present-day followers of Islam are shown by their caste designation to be the descendants of local converts." I may add that these figures include the trans-Indus territory, where Pathans, Balochs, &c., are indigenous,—that is, are not descended from invaders of India. If this territory, with its two millions of Mahomedans, be excluded, the proportion of persons who are shown by their caste designation to be the descendants of local converts becomes larger still. I may fairly claim that some ten million Mahomedans in the Punjab are of the same race as their non-Mahomedan neighbours.

In Kashmir there are over two million Mahomedans, seventy-five per cent, of the population. The Census Report writes of these :—"Up to 1340 A.D. there was not a single Mahomedan in Kashmir. The proselytes to Islamism are mostly from the original Hindu population, strangers and foreigners being but few. Sheikhs form a very numerous class, representing the descendants of the original Hindus who were converted to Islam by Mahomedan con-

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querors or by propounders of Islam." This is written by a Mahomedan gentleman. I think on this evidence I am entitled to claim that some two million Kashmiri Mahomedans are of the same race as their non-Mahomedan neighbours.

Sindh has two and a half million Mahomedan, seventy-six per cent, of her population. Of these a hundred and twenty thousand claim to be Arabs, and there are a few Pathans. There are half-a-million Balochs, who are more or less indigencous, and certainly not descendants of Mahomedan conquerors of India. There are nearly a million Shekhs, "a term now used by almost all Hindu converts to Islam," as the Census Report puts it. It is clear, I think, that in Sindh few Mahomedans are descended from Mahommedan conquerors.

The four Census divisions or provinces above discussed contain forty-five millions out of the total sixty-two and a half millions of Indian Mussulmans. I have shown, I think, that the vast majority of the Mussulmans in these divisions are of the same race as their non-Mahomedan neighbours, or, at any rate, are *not* descended from the Mahomedan conquerors of India.

In the United Provinces the Mahomedans, nearly seven millions, form only eleven per cent. of the population. Of these over a million are Saiads, Pathans, and Moghals, "theoretically of foreign origin, though it is certain many of them are not," according to the Census Report. One and a quarter millions describe themselves as Sheikh, "the tribe to the membership of which converts from Hinduism can easily attain." Two and a quarter millions are "Hindus who have not changed their caste, name, or occupation on conversion." Of these four hundred thousand are Rajputs. It seems to me that I must claim six million out of the seven million Mahomedans in the United Provinces as of the same race as their non-Mahomedan neighbours.

I have now considered the case of fifty-two and a half millions out of sixty-two and a half millions, province by province. Among the remaining ten millions scattered throughout the rest of India, including nearly a million Moplahs, the descendants of the Arab, Afghan, Turk, and Persian conquerors are few and far between.

For the whole of India, the Census returns one and a quarter million Saiads, three and half million Pathans (Afghans), 358,000 Moghals, 1,122,000 Balochs, 307,000 Arabs, and 455,000 Ajlaf (not Ashraf). Of these the Afghans and Balochs are largely indigencous people of the West and the North-West Frontier. And the well-known proverb, "Last year I was a Jolaha; now I am a Sheikh;

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next year if prices rise I shall be a Saiad," must be borne in mind. Not all the Mahomedans who claim to be Saiads (descendants of the Prophet) could establish their claim.

A further examination of the last Census tends to confirm my estimate, which I made in your issue of October 13th, 1906, that out of the sixty-two and a half millions of Indian Mussulmans about five millions may be descended from the Mahomedan conquerors of India, and my statement that Indian Mussulmans are generally of the same race as their non-Mahomedan neighbours.

Surely your correspondent is wrong in holding that the bar of religious difference prevents or has prevented intermarriage between the conquering Arabs, Afghans, Turks, and Persians and the natives of India. He says lower down that the Moplahs are the offspring of Arab sires and Hindu women. Surely he does not mean that this is an isolated instance. The Census says the Moplahs are descendants of converts made by the Arabs in the eighth century. My impression is that the Mussulmans take, and have taken, native women into their harems quite freely.

Lastly, I come to the Mahomedan language, the common language of the Mussulman race, the Urdu. Your correspondent holds that they have dropped the languages of their Afghan, Arab, Turk, and Persian ancestors, and have adopted Urdu, the camp language, in their place. This Urdu is fully described in paras 570 to 575 of the Census Report. "It is that form of Hindustani (the language of *Hindustan*) which is written in the Persian character and makes free use of Persian (including Arabic) in its vocabulary. It took its rise in the efforts of the ever-pliable Hindu to assimilate the language of his rulers. It is spoken chiefly in the towns of Western Hindustan and by Mussulmans and Hindus who have fallen under the influence of Persian culture. It has become the *lingua franca* of Hindus as well as of Mussulmans." It is not the vernacular or mother-tongue anywhere, except, perhaps, in Western Hindustan, the upper Gangetic Doab and Rohilkhand—essentially Hindu countries—but it is written and spoken more or less all over India in various forms. It is essentially a native or Hindu language. It is not mentioned separately in the list of Indian languages in the Census Report. Indeed, I can find nothing in that Report to support the theory advanced by the *Times* and your correspondent that Mahomedans do not use the same vernacular languages as their non-Mahomedan neighbours,—that is, that Punjabi Mahomedans do not use Punjabi, Kashmiri Mahomedans Kashmiri, Sindhi Mahomedans Sindhi, and Bengali Mahomedans Bengali.

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I think I have shown that the account given of Indian Mussulmans by the *Times* and your correspondent—that they are a separate race, descended from the Arab, Afghan, Turk, Persian and Moghal invaders and speaking a common language—requires a good deal of modification in the light of the last Census Report. There can be no doubt, if that Report is to be relied on, that the Indian Mussulmans are generally of the same race as their non-Mahomedan neighbours, and use the same language. Why should the *Times* and your correspondent ignore the Census?—(“Old Liberal” in the *London Spectator*.)

THE INDIAN RAILWAYS

SYSTEM STIFLES INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

“Still, the most important tributary of the stream so copiously fed from so many affluents is the State Railway. In India the State undertakes not only railways, but other gigantic operations for the direct development of the economic resources of the country. The Indian railway system is really worth thinking about for a moment. It is nearly 30,000 miles in extent, and is growing at the rate of 1,000 miles a year.” (Mr. John Morley, on the Indian Budget, July 20, 1906)

Advices received from India indicate a feeling of dissatisfaction with the slow development of the railway schemes. Indian State finance, and Indian railway finance, writes an authority, are, under present conditions, inextricably involved. The Indian Government has a more or less fixed revenue, which has to be spent on State services. Any superfluity there may be is, or can be made, available for the railways. This superfluous crumb may be added to by money raised by loan, but Governments are cautious in increasing State debt, and the consequent interest liabilities. All the Indian railways are actually to-day, or may be in the future, the property of the Secretary of State for India. In these circumstances the development of the internal communications of India rests, not on the natural requirements of the country or the growth of the world's commerce, as reflected in India, but on what the Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer may think he is able to spare out of the cash or the credit resources of the State. The result is a crippling of industrial India, which is most acutely felt at the present moment.

When all is said and done, continues our correspondent, the main supporter of the Indian revenue is the native of India, of whom there are something like 280,000,000. It is his interests, irrespective of caste, creed, or colour, that have to be regarded if the Secretary of State, to quote his own Budget speech, believes that “the Indian railway system is really worth thinking about for a

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moment." The situation is a very serious one. India is now enjoying what an American statesman calls "the malady of a great prosperity." The jute crop, the cotton crop, the wheat crop of the Punjab, all these are large and in great demand at high prices, internally and for exportation. And there are new industries cropping up. Let it be noted here that every Viceroy of India, with hardly an exception, has signalised his arrival there by dilating on the disadvantages under which India stands owing to the fact that some 93 per cent. of her population depend upon agriculture for their subsistence.

VICEROYS AND RAILWAYS

All the Viceroys have called for the development of manufacturing and other industries to divert a portion of that most efficient and ingenious class of people called generically "the native of India" from a precarious subsistence to one which will aid them to personal and collective wealth. I am bound to add that, with the exception of Lord Curzon, not many Viceroys have tried to put these excellent principles into practice. Perhaps the way, in which the railways are involved in State finance, accounts for the non-fulfilment of these many good intentions. Certainly it has operated against the Indian railway systems taking that conspicuous place in the world's records of railway enterprise which they deserve.

It has been dinned into us how splendidly the American railways show us the way in respect of train loads, wagon services, rapidity of communication, and so on. I firmly believe that if an accurate comparison could be made, say, of the East Indian, the Great Indian Pensinular, or any other of the Indian systems, with the American railways, in regard to train loads, wagon loads, and the charge for transportation imposed upon the public, the Indian railways would carry off the palm. If this be so, why is it that the Indian railways are not more liberally supplied with funds? Why are the native merchants, who are the mainstay of the Indian revenue, handicapped in their business by the grievous deficiency in rolling stock?

A WRONG SYSTEM

The sum allotted by the Secretary of State for the whole purposes of new construction, maintenance, and improvement of equipment may be stated approximately at about ten millions sterling. Apart altogether from any question of adding new railways to the 29,000 miles already open, the money allotted is no more than is adequate for betterment and equipment purposes alone. The result is a scramble on the part of all the railway companies and all

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the managers of the State railways for as much as each can get. It is not the least use for the manager of a State railway or the agent of a company to tell the Government that he wants a thousand new wagons, and so on. The reply is that the Railway Department has a certain sum of money to spend on all the railways of India ; there is not enough to go round, and each railway must do with what it could get.

It is not possible, under the present system of annual allotment, for the Indian railways to make an intelligent forecast of the improvements necessary beyond the period of one year. No undertaking based on commercial principles can be run on the calendar. If an Indian railway company were to lay before the Government of India at once the full scope and cost of a design for the expansion of its system, in nine cases out of ten, the Board would be informed that the project was not feasible, because it would cost too much money. Thus works of public utility, designed to greatly develop the natural resources of India and to assist in the diversion of an appreciable section of the population from agriculture to industrial work—the aim of all Viceroys—are stifled before they are born. The Boards of railway companies in India are prohibited, practically by the nature of their contracts, from taking the responsibility of comprehensive initiative.

TIED RAILWAYS

They may propose, but they cannot adopt, any project for expansion. They are not permitted to make independent arrangements for the provision of funds. They do not know how much capital money will be at their disposal for developments or for betterments. They do not know until each respective indent sanctioned by the Government of India is in their hands for what particular purpose the money included in their grant for the current year may be spent.

The present is a favourable moment for increasing the stock of wagons and engines. The demand is urgent, and delivery of orders could be made quickly. All that is wanted is for the Secretary of State for India to realise that economy, in the true sense of the word, is not to be interpreted as a refusal to spend money. This is Mr. Morley's idea, as interpreted by the Indian Government. As well would it be for a hungry man with plenty of money in his pocket to say, " It would be a very wasteful thing to buy myself that dinner without which I cannot work."

There are other aspects of this question which directly affect the usually inarticulate native trader. Under the present system of

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State-provided capital, the Indian capitalist, native or European, is debarred from taking any part in railway enterprise. Out of the £250,000,000 capital involved in Indian railways it may be doubted whether £250,000 is owned in India. The earnings of the railways are either an insidious form of indirect taxation on the natural resources of the country or they are remitted as profit to alien shareholders. It is an absurd argument that the return on railway investment is not adequate to tempt the native banker or capitalist. It is time enough to use that fallacy when the experiment has been made and failed.

Once more, it is fair to ask Mr. Morley to recall his own words that "the Indian railway system is really worth thinking about for a moment." (*The Daily Chronicle*)

INDIAN CURRENCY DIFFICULTIES

As time goes on the Indian Government experiences more and more the difficulty of maintaining an artificial and unnatural currency system. It will be in the recollection of our readers that in 1893 the Government at home, under pressure from the Services in India, permitted the Indian Government to stop the coinage of silver, retaining for the latter the right, however, to coin silver when it thought expedient, and at the same time to adopt the gold standard. The old money of India was the rupee, and the Government recognised that it would be hopeless to attempt to withdraw rupees and substitute gold coin. Therefore the rupee continued in circulation, and its value was arbitrarily fixed at 16*d.* of our money, or, in other words, 15 rupees were declared to be equal to £1 sterling. In order to carry out the policy then adopted, the Government abstained from coining new rupees for seven years, and, furthermore, it established a gold reserve for the purpose of being able to exchange gold for silver and silver for gold. At the end of the seven years the Government found itself compelled to resume coining, and with brief intervals since it has gone on coining. There is no question at all that the refusal of the Indian Government to coin between 1893 and 1900 caused severe suffering to the Indian people and materially checked the progress of the country. India, however, has great recuperative power, and at the present time particularly Indian trade is exceedingly prosperous. The jute, the rice, and the cotton crops this year have all been exceedingly good, and they have sold at high prices. Consequently, there has been a very strong demand for additional circulation,

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and the Government has been compelled to buy silver on a great scale and coin in. The Government, however, had plainly miscalculated. Either it did not anticipate the great activity of trade, or it hoped to be able to borrow freely in London. The consequence of its miscalculation was that it found it very difficult to meet the demand for fresh circulation. It sold exchange upon an extraordinary scale, and it "earmarked" gold for the purpose of buying silver. Yet it found itself seriously embarrassed, and it added to the troubles of the London money market by superinducing an Indian demand upon all the other demands for gold. Apparently it has been so impressed by its experience during the past season that it has determined upon making a change.

The Indian Government has two reserves : a reserve against its notes in circulation, and a reserve to maintain the new currency system. In the old note reserve there used to be held ingot silver to the amount of three crores. It has been decided to double the amount of silver kept in reserve, and to hold it not in the note reserve, but in the gold reserve. It is perfectly true that silver not coined is not, properly speaking, a reserve, and, therefore, it undoubtedly was out of place in the note reserve. But it is questionable whether it is much more in place in the gold reserve, for the gold reserve is professedly held to maintain the gold standard, and it is not apparent how six crores of rupees can be held to maintain the gold standard. However, it is decided in future to hold six crores of rupees. As a matter of fact, although it is included in the gold reserve it is not any part of that reserve. It is not even intended to be any part of that reserve. Its real object is to furnish the Government with a mass of silver, which can be drawn upon in an emergency if the demand for that metal becomes unexpectedly great. It is a reserve, in short, against such a trial as the Indian system has been put to during the past six months. The Indian Government, it is hardly necessary to say, had not the money to buy and hoard as a reserve three crores of rupees. Accordingly, it suspended for the time being the process of adding to its gold reserve. There is at present invested in gold securities what is called a gold reserve of about 12½ millions sterling. This reserve has been gradually built up by allocating to it the profit on the coinage of silver.

As an official writing in one of the Indian papers explained some months ago, a million sterling would buy enough of silver to coin about 240 lacs of rupees. To replace the million sterling, however, the Government would require only 150 lacs, and the

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remaining 90 lacs, therefore, represent the profit on coinage. In other words, the profit on the coinage of silver is 60 per cent, and and this 60 per cent., as already said, has been applied to build up the gold reserve. Since the summer it has, however, been diverted from that purpose to doubling the silver reserve against an emergency demand for silver coin. It is expected that the accumulation of 3 crores of rupees, to be added to the 3 crores already existing in the note reserve, will be completed by the end of this month. After this month, consequently, the accumulation of the gold reserve will be resumed. We have called attention to this matter partly because the Indian Government has been somewhat roughly criticised because of the step it has taken—a criticism, we are bound to say, largely founded on misconception—but mainly because the incident illustrates the precarious nature of the currency policy of the Indian Government. The Government in 1893 adopted with a light heart the new policy, declaring its own confidence that it could maintain the new system. Unquestionably, it succeeded in raising the value of the rupee to 16s., and in maintaining it at that figure. But it did so by refusing to coin for seven years, and consequently, inflicting great hardship upon the people. Quite recently it has been helped by the very marked rise in the price of silver. Furthermore, the Indian Government declared with equal confidence that it would be able to exchange gold for silver and silver for gold, and it proceeded with a light heart to accumulate a gold reserve. It is 13 years now almost since the mints were closed, and at the end of the 13 years it finds that, in addition to a gold reserve, it has to accumulate a silver reserve. What will be the next device to which it will be driven, it would be useless now to attempt to predict. All that can be said with certainty is that the policy is an unsound one, and that from time to time it will lead the Indian Government into serious embarrassments.—*The Statist*.

DIVIDED INDIA

The pulse of Asia, that had grown stiff, almost lifeless, has been touched and wakened to youthful vigour by the hard, brown hand of little Japan.

Especially is this true in India. Its manhood that has lain dormant for the last century has suddenly sprung into vivified passionate life.

' There shall be sung another Golden Age,
The rise of commonwealth and arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.
Not such as India breeds in her decay ;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay
By future poets shall be sung."

But before this Golden Age can emerge out of Hope into glorious reality, before Equality can be ceded as a birth-right, India must be prepared not only to face, but practice, self-denial, self-sacrifice—even to the lopping off of a right arm or right leg. Of the lopping off, we shall speak later on. Temporary despots are the curse of our social systems, and sooner these petty tyrants are made to understand *vox populi vox dei*, the sooner the sword shall be beaten into the plough-share.

Unrest, heart unrest, is felt throughout Asia. The silver trumpet of Freedom has been sounded by Japan. Asiatics have been bidden to expect the Jubilee.

Equality, the birth-right of the human race, of no matter what colour or creed, has been taken up by the educated men of India ; they will never lay it down, unless they win freedom or death—better death than disfranchisement.

Equality, as man to man, is God's gift. " I am a man as well as you " is a thought which runs like a living flame—that fermenting in crushed hearts makes revolutionary epochs of history.

Silently the oak forces its way out of the shell in which it is confined up out of the dark earth, leaving its broken shell behind ; up, ever up, till it reaches its full stature in strong, free life ; thus slowly, silently travelling, nations are born and people break their chains.

The years that have crushed the martial manhood out of the sons of India have been long, wearisomely long, and the tears shed bitterly salt.

A Western civilisation has been trying to mould hot Eastern hearts into Western mummies. Added to this mummifying civilisation has been a flood of Western snobbery—a contemptible growth—that the courteous, simple nature of Indian gentlemen cannot understand. Snob-dom is a disease which attacks small minds, when given temporal power. It comes from an exaggeration of an individual's importance—as seen in the prostrations of the ignorant poor—at the footstool of the august snob !

But outweighing all other wrongs and insulting the very God-head is the handicap of colour. This has been planked on Indians—not only as regards the State, but the Church itself. Colour

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debars the converts from being Bishops. This insult is thrown at the converts, whilst preaching the Pauline doctrine—all things to all men.

This farce has made educated Indians in Church and State to be treated as naughty school-boys who must even have the *cane* held over them lest they should misbehave. The handicap of colour at once outlaws the man and woman of a dark skin.

Has God done this wrong to the larger half of the universe ? God forbid. No sane man or woman could believe such a monstrous doctrine !

A few days ago, the newspapers were loud in their praise of Kali Charan Banurji. They extolled him as a giant for good—of intellect, a leader of men. Surely among India's teeming millions, she has more than one Kali Charan Banurji. If the above is true and not mere rot said to cover a corpse, why do not these Kali Charan Banurjis lead Church and State ? Why is there ever a white face at pulpit and desk ?

The reason is not far to seek. India is divided. India, who clamours for her rights, has outlawed, disfranchised millions of her own children.* She calls them "low caste." Britons call Indians "demi-semi savages," and say : "They will not swim with current events, they show their bare bodies, bare legs, etc., without shame ; how can England treat her but as savages ? The low-caste have no rights, civil or divine. Did God make men unclean ? I dare think not, and the sooner India thinks so, the sooner England will give her freedom.

India must be born again, recast before she can see the Heaven of Franchise—Liberty—Equality—which she demands. Priests have crippled her, even as for a time they dared to cripple Britain. Away with the curse and subtlety of priestly craft, the bogies to frighten children and enslave ignorant women.

Still the spirit of Liberty has spoken it is now vain to try and silence it. Chains, torture, imprisonment, but make it cry the more loudly—"I shall be free." None may stem its irresistible stream. Opinions and principles can neither be imprisoned nor yet burned. When Jacob Ardeveldt, with a few followers, dashed through the Austrian hosts shouting, "Make way for Liberty," he triumphed over the panic-stricken foe, and he secured an inheritance of liberty for his country. He risked his life, counted his life dross, in comparison with his country's welfare. Do likewise. Dash into cold-blooded diplomacy and shout : "Make room for liberty, for India's commonwealth."

Strike for Freedom, for Franchise, not paltry revenge. Racial hatred never builds up a commonwealth. To build up liberty on a solid basis, all people must unite—Mahomedan, Sudra, Brahmin and Christian. A land so united is like a house built upon a rock.

India needs giants—not merely in intellect, but physical and moral giants. To reach this stature, they must have self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control.

The man that respects himself, knows himself and controls himself—he is a strong man : Be strong !

The patient sufferers are always the vanguard which pioneers the gathering hosts. England will yield to reverence and controlled manhood what she would never do to blatant bluster.

The seed of the forest tree, that is driven away by the wild tempest, lodges and vegetates, and from it springs new forests, and so the seeds of Freedom and Equality are in like manner hurled along. God creates out of His crushed children the souls of new and noble heroes, endowed with courage to wrest a larger and more glorious Liberty—the liberty of self-government.

The track of liberty has, alas ! ever been the track of martyrdom, —the track of blood.

Australia, the smallest of all nations, has been founded on the fishing, and hunting grounds of savages. This Empire was not heralded in with blood, as most empires are won. It is now a land flowing with milk and honey. Railways vein its vast area, steamers forest its waters and the labouring man voices his own and country's needs. Brave, fearless, second to none as soldiers and sailors. Such useless appendages as Princes and Princelets disfigure not its fair liberty or put to shame with their effeminate white hands the son of the soil.

Rise up India, put away your cringing attitude. Call no man *Burra Sahib*. Be free ! Let no man call you "low caste." God made you all *men*—not *Sudras*. Priest-craft has chained you as it did Englishmen. They threw off the yoke and office is open to all who have the brains. Unite ! The *Sudras* make as good soldiers as the *Brahmin*.

Physical strength, physical courage, and the heart to do and dare are the weapons used by great nations. Debates in the Senate are only for the physically weak. Only see that your zeal, your courage, is for your country and its good, not the brutal lust of power ; then will God be with you. Vain will be the country built on any other foundation. Avoid the spirit of persecution—it is the spirit of Hell, the spirit of bigotry gone mad !

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“ Above the chant of priests
Above the blatant tongue of braying doubt
Hear ye the still small voice of Love,
Which sends its simple message out,
And dearer, sweeter day by day,
Its mandate echoes from the skies :
Go ! Roll the stone of self away,
And let the Christ within thee rise.”

India is divided—divided by caste, prejudice and social laws. She is impoverished by the supporting of millions of priests—impoverished by marriage customs, which mulct her in millions sterling annually, impoverished by her hundred and one Princelets whose control of vast territories and revenues are run for the up-keep of one man's household. These Princes should become rulers or rather Counsellors of State, paid out of the revenues of the State—paid fixed salaries, the same as other servants of the commonwealth. To unite India, all these broken threads must be joined together—each working for his country and its interests. Franchise must include *Sudras* as well as *Brahmins*, peasants as well as Princes.

The whole of the religious ceremonies want overhauling. The abuses are most glaring and the priests should be under the control of the State or a religious commissioner, subject to the State.

United India should rule under the ægis of a commonwealth—not as a foe of Britain, but as they rule in Australia. A British Prince as Governor with the Princes of India as a Parliament and an Indian Prince as Federal Premier. The Prince should be chosen by the Governor, the first time, and other five years by the people. The command of the Federal Armies should be under the best English Generals, until the Imperial Cadet Corps has been proven fit to take over the army. The same course should be followed with regard to naval affairs.

So built up and backed by the British nation, India would remain friend and brother as long as the nation stands. The extravagance which now defaces India's rule would pass away, and with it all heartburn, famine, and dishonoured manhood. There would be no need of an Arms Act, for every man would shoulder a gun in defence of his country and Britain.—An Australian Lady in the *Indian Mirror*.

MATAJI TAPASWINI

The death of Mataji Maharani Tapaswini, which took place at Benares on the 20th April, is an irreparable loss to the Hindu community. The day was the seventh of *Bysack*, and was

an auspicious day according to the Hindu almanac, it being the *Saptami* day of the *Basanti Pujah*, which is, so to speak, a duplicate of the great *Durga Pujah*. The Mataji Maharani was a remarkable personality. She was a learned Sanskrit scholar, and was well versed in Vedantism. She was descended from the family of the Rajah of Arcot, and on her mother's side was connected with the house of the *Jagidar* of Arni in Southern India, and led from her early days a rigidly ascetic life. She visited various places of pilgrimage in India, and before coming to Calcutta, spent some time in Nepal where she was known as Gunga Bai, and where she made herself famous by her great deeds. She was well known to the Nepal Raj family. She received a perfect education as a Hindu woman under her parents. She was, in fact, an accomplished lady—as good an artist and scholar as a horse-woman ! In the art of cooking, which she made it a point to teach her pupils, she had hardly an equal. Her life was extremely simple and plain. She used to get up from bed at 4 in the morning and, after bathing, devoted herself to her religious duties till 9 A.M. Her fare consisted wholly of tea and milk. She took no solid food and yet lived a long, healthy, active life. The Mataji's arrival in Calcutta was so sudden that it may be said to have been pre-ordained by Providence. First she came to Baidyanath and then, after spending a few days in Calcutta, she proceeded to Puri. We came to know her, on her first visit to Calcutta about fourteen years ago, and found that she was just the kind of Hindu lady we had been looking for to lead the movement of Hindu female education in Bengal. We induced her to stay in Calcutta and to establish a Hindu Girls' School. She readily accepted our proposal, and opened an institution for Hindu girls, which developed subsequently into the present *Mahakali Patshala*. The institution was started with some twenty girls or so, and its roll now contains more than six hundred names !

The way in which the Mataji worked for the *Mahakali Patshala* and made it a model institution for Hindu girls was a marvel. The *Patshala* was first opened in a house at Jorasanko, known as Rani Harasundari's house, belonging to the estate of the late Maharani Sarnomoyi. This house was occupied by the *Patshala*, free of rent, for two or three years. The late Maharani Sarnomoyi's charities were as unbounded as they were well-directed. She had for her Manager at that time our well-known, public-spirited countryman, Rai Bahadur Srinath Pal. He helped the Mataji not only by getting the house for the use of the *Patshala*, but also by securing

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a decent monthly subscription from the Maharani. The house referred to is now occupied by the Jorasanko Thanna. The usefulness of the institution, under the maternal care of the Mataji, began to be widely known, and several Hindu gentlemen, among whom was the late Babu Kali Kissen Tagore, extended their liberal support to it. Hindu parents soon found that the education which their girls received in the *Pathshala* was just the sort of education that was necessary for the Hindu home. The Mataji's girls were found to make exemplary wives and mothers. Many fathers preferred choosing brides for their sons from the *Mahakali Pathshala*. The second building occupied by the *Pathshala* was one in Chorebagan, whence, larger accommodation being needed, it removed to its present building which was first hired, and afterwards purchased. A building fund was opened, but the money raised was insufficient. The result was that the Mataji was compelled to meet the deficiency by a loan which has not yet been fully paid up. We ought to mention that among the Hindu noblemen who assisted the Mataji liberally was the late Maharajah Sir Lachmiswar Singh, the eldest brother of the present Maharaja of Darbhanga. He took the *Pathshala* under his care, and defrayed a good portion of its expenses by paying a monthly subscription of Rs. 60. He also paid off all the debts, incurred by the Mataji on account of the *Pathshala*. The Mataji had kept up the institution for many months by paying the bulk of its expenses herself and it was providential that when she was unable to do this any longer, she found such a liberal patron in the late Maharajah of Darbhanga. It was creditable to the present Maharajah to have consented to take the same interest in the school, and to pay the same subscription every month. In addition to this help, the Maharajah, like his brother, gives a thousand rupees to the institution at each prize-distribution. The *Mahakali Pathshala*, which has now entered on the fifteenth year of its existence, has undergone many vicissitudes, but it has emerged from them all, because of the untiring zeal and the great self-sacrifice of the Mataji. The *Mahakali Pathshala* now needs no recommendation to the Hindu public. Of course, there is much room for improvement yet in its curriculum ; but, as it is, the institution is an ideal training ground for Hindu girls. Its system of teaching has been so successful that people in other parts of India have adopted it. The success of the *Mahakali Pathshala* amply proves that the orthodox Hindu community is not indifferent to the question of the female education. The *Pathshala* imparts education on strictly national lines, and that is

MATAJI TAPASWINI

its chief recommendation. The Mataji was a real benefactress to the Hindu community in this Province, and it is to be hoped that the *Pathshala*, which was the object of so much care on the part of the venerable lady, will remain as a permanent memorial to her. It is a matter for felicitation that several European ladies have interested themselves in the welfare of the institution. The Mataji's good work will never be forgotten by the Hindus of Bengal. She will ever live in the hearts of not a few Hindu wives and mothers who received their knowledge, and learned their duties, at her feet. The Mataji's death is a loss not only to the Indian womanhood, but to the whole Indian nation.

The Mataji preserved her consciousness to the last, and passed away peacefully. The funeral took place at the *Monikarnika Ghat* at Benares.—*The Indian Mirror*.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

A recent storm in a tea-cup inspired an English contemporary to the task of searching some Blue-books diligently for the heading "Idols," as it wished to determine from official sources whether Birmingham was really guilty of making graven (or cast-iron or brass) images for the heathen. But the journal found no such heading. Hence we infer that Birmingham makes no idols—for India, at any rate. Perhaps she sets up in her own borders all that she makes.

* *

"Every year we keep hoping," says the *Investors' Review*, "that a little commonsense will be applied to his business by the Finance Minister in India, and that the publication of the budget will be deferred until the financial year is complete. We are moving that way by degrees, and the budget now comes out towards the end of March instead of in January or February, but the alteration of date is not carried far enough and we still have the mixing up of regular estimates, revised estimates, completed year's figures, budget estimates of the ordinary type for the coming year. What good end is served by loading up the official summaries of figures in this fashion? Another fortnight and the "revised estimate" nuisance might have been dispensed with altogether and for good. Perhaps Mr. Morley will gently push his subordinates towards this easy and simple reform."

* *

The Bombay, Baroda and Central Indian Railway Company is trying an experiment that will be of the greatest interest to that ever-growing number of society—people who make a tour in India during the winter. This Company—one of the most progressive of its kind in India—has just placed on its system a veritable *train de luxe* to visit the many places of interest on its system. Starting from Bombay, the traveller may now visit in the greatest comfort, and without having to worry about hotels or other accommodation, since he eats and sleeps in the train, many places of the greatest interest. These include Ahmedabad, Mount Abu, Jaipur, Agra, and Delhi, finally returning to Bombay after one of the most

interesting and instructive ten days' tour it would be possible to take. And all for a total cost of under fifteen pounds! This train should certainly not lack for passengers, and if successful, others of a similar character are likely to be placed on the other Indian railways.

* *

The plague records for the ten years, October 1896 to December 1906, show that there was a large annual increase from 1901 to 1904, the deaths numbering 274,000 in 1901; 577,000 in 1902; 557,000 in 1903; and 1,022,000 in 1904, which is the worst year in ten years. There was a small decrease in 1905, the deaths falling to 951,000, and a large decrease in 1906, when deaths were only 332,000. The total deaths for the whole ten years numbered 4,411,212. The improvement which was shown in the two years, 1905 and 1906, has not unfortunately been maintained, as during the first three months and a half of 1907, the deaths throughout India totalled 494,000, which is the heaviest monthly mortality yet reported during the epidemic, and would appear to show that the present year will exhibit a record number of deaths. From the first appearance of the disease, up to the year 1901, the mortality was greatest in the Bombay Presidency, but from 1902 onward with one exception, the worst area has been the Punjab, and in 1905, the deaths in the latter province alone numbered 364,625.

* *

Lord Kitchener's statement to the Council of the Governor-General at Calcutta puts some aspects of the work he was sent to India to accomplish before the public mind. Indian military policy, as he pointed out, is purely defensive. The British and the Native Army in India are not maintained for the purpose of being available for attack on any one. If war were to break out between this country and Russia, their duty would be to keep the Indian Empire intact—their business does not include any attack other than that necessitated by defence. But Lord Kitchener is determined that, for the purpose of defence, his Army shall be as well placed as possible. Until he was sent out by Mr. Brodrick and Lord Roberts to put the Army in a proper condition there had been little change since the Mutiny. No consistent attempt had been made to distribute the forces at the disposal of the Indian Government in the manner most advantageous for the purpose for which they are intended. Conditions have changed since 1857. The strategic significance of the North-West Frontier has widened. Russia has

come up to the borders of Afghanistan ; her scouts scan the passes that lead to the rich land beyond. Against these new conditions new measures are required, and it is to the task of providing them that Lord Kitchener has devoted himself. He is forming the Indian Army into divisions so established *en échelon*, one behind the other, along the railways that they may be rapidly concentrated in time of war. The work is not easy of accomplishment, and Lord Kitchener has devoted considerable time to it. It is to be hoped that his labours will be recognised when at last he has evolved a system out of the rather haphazard distribution of the troops upon which India has relied before.



Compulsory education is being introduced in oriental fashion by the Begum of Bhopal. In the Mahomedan State over which she reigns, the schools, which owe their existence to the enlightened energy of herself, her mother, and her grandmother, have not met with the support she requires from the nobles and high officials. At the prize distribution of the Alexandra Nobles' Schools, her Highness spoke her mind freely on the subject. She condemned the love of ease which is enervating the upper classes and compelling her to go out side in order to find men qualified to carry on the business of the State. She pointed out that, for the sake of example, she had kept her own son at this school, instead of sending him to one of the colleges outside the State, and that scholarships were numerous. But these inducements had failed. "All my warnings and injunctions have proved futile in this direction, and I have at last given orders that a part of the income of the students and their parents should be cut off, if the former unreasonably absent themselves from the school, and the money thus obtained may be spent towards the education and scholarships of the promising students. If, even after this, the people, and especially the Jagirdars, do not pay sufficient attention to education, I shall be compelled to adopt the same strict measures as the Emperor of Japan has done for the weal of the people."



Those who are fortunate enough to obtain the necessary sanction to visit Nepal alight from the railway train at the Raxaul Station on the frontier, at a distance of seventy-two miles from Khatmandu. From Raxaul a good but unmetalled road, suitable for carts leads as far as Bhimphedi, and from thence a bridle track only exists to conduct the traveller over the mountainous district direct into the valley of

Nepal ; but once the valley is entered at Thonkhet a good cart road, metalled the last eight miles into Khatamandu, winds through this thickly-populated and well-cultivated valley. The height of this valley above sea-level is about 4,500 ft., and owing to this altitude the inhabitants to the number of some 100,000 are favoured with a delightful climate—pleasantly cool in the summer and not uncomfortably cold in the winter months. Beside the capital there are two other towns and numerous villages dotted about the valley, giving the spectator the impression of the villages and towns of India in the wilder mountain-districts ; but a closer inspection reveals every here and there houses and building erected on modern European lines for the upper classes of Nepal. It is confidently anticipated that this powerful hill state, the military services of which have been so generously offered to our Government in the past, would again be offered by the Nepal Durbar if required, and would render very valuable aid should the occasion arise for their participation in the defence of mutual interests in Asia.

* *

In the coming official year, £9,041,000 is to be spent on railways in India out of capital, no less than £3,787,300 of it on new rolling stock, for which there is an urgent demand and necessity, but which ought to be provided for out of revenue, and not by permanent additions to the capital account. Nearly £3,000,000 more is to be laid out on open lines for other purposes, so that altogether capital to the extent of about £6,755,000 will be poured into Indian railways already opened for traffic, and only £2,245,000 of the allotted total will remain to be devoted to new construction. Irrigation works are to have £833,300 spent upon them, and £665,400 represents "discharge of debt" under various heads, which naturally means reborrowing, unless we regard the anticipated surplus revenue of £775,000 as being devoted to this particular object. Already a loan of £2,000,000 or three crores of rupees has been issued in India, and the borrowings in England by the Secretary of State and the railway companies are put at £6,697,000. In reality, therefore, about £9,000,000 will be raised in England to keep India steady on the path of progress by usury, since it is from Great Britain and not from India itself that even the rupee loans are chiefly provided. The nett deposits of the Savings Banks are expected to increase by £685,000 during the year, and the whole of that likewise will be absorbed in the projected capital expenditure as well as £113,000 provides by "deposits, remittances, &c." It.

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is not going to be an easy matter to raise money in London even for India during the coming fiscal year, and we regret that some bridle was not put upon this steady outpouring of fresh capital by which Indian prosperity is stimulated and inflated to an extent which is sure to end in mischief one day.

* *

The accounts for 1905-6 ended with a surplus of £2,092,000, which was £336,000 more than the Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council had estimated two or three weeks before the year ended, and Mr. E. N. Baker now looks for a surplus of £452,000 more in the current year than was estimated twelve months ago, that is to say, the overplus will be £1,326,000, instead of £874,000, and by the end of the month it may be bigger still, or less. The increase appears to be due chiefly to opium, and the profit upon the sweated currency forced upon the Indian people. We do not learn from the official summary how much more "the mint" has yielded, but as opium gave about £777,000 more, and Customs £157,000 less, the inference must be that at least £700,000 additional has come in from the currency device. Irrigation is mentioned as contributing to the increase, but that cannot have given a large sum. Altogether the revenue has risen by £1,916,000, and there has been a decrease of over £277,000 in the expenditure estimated to the 31st March, so that altogether the accounts would be £2,143,000 to the good, were it not that an additional £1,691,000 has been paid over to provincial Governments "under their standing agreements with the Government of India," the result being the nett gain of £452,000 above mentioned. We note with pleasure that a still further reduction in the weight of the salt tax is announced. At the present time this tax is 1½ rupees per maund (about 80 lbs.) throughout India and 1 rupee in Burma. Henceforth it is to be 1 rupee per maund over the whole of the Indian Empire, and the annual cost of this welcome reform is estimated at £1,267,000, of which £1,000,000 is reckoned to fall upon the coming year. There are also to be some revisions in the postal rates which will involve a loss of nearly £147,000 per annum, but as they do not come into force until October 1 next the budget for 1907-8 will only have to provide £73,300 of this loss. Altogether the revenue is put at £75,013,000, and the expenditure at £74,238,000, so that the forecasted surplus is £775,000.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Cassie flowers obtained from *Acacia Farnesiana* yield an excellent perfume for which there is always a demand. The oil consists of a methyl ester of salicylic acid. The tree is wild in most parts of Bengal and the Punjab, and the yellow flower heads perfume the atmosphere very pleasantly. When the plants are cultivated a tree yields 2 lbs. of flowers valued at three to four pence a pound ; an acre thus realising £30 to £40.

* *

Cigar-smokers in India will be surprised as well as disappointed to learn that the far-famed "Trichy" and Dindigul cheroots are fast losing their popularity in England, and that the export trade of India in that important commodity has recently undergone an ominous decline. However regretfully we make this statement there is no getting away from facts and figures, and a comparison of the official returns of the exports during the quinquennium, 1901-2 to 1905-6, show that the quantity of cigars shipped to the United Kingdom declined from about 287,000 lbs. in 1901-2 to 135,000 lbs. in 1905-6, and the value from £32,000 to £16,000.

* *

The chief movements worthy of notice in the trade of other foreign countries with British India are important increased purchases of Belgian vehicles, plate and sheet glass, hardware and cutlery, steel and railway plant, and decreases in Belgian earthenware and copper. Canada is given credit for a modest bill for £11 last year, which is further evidence that these statistics are quite misleading as indicating country of origin. Australia is alleged to have sold to India 606, 872*l.* worth of goods last year, almost double the value of three years before. Here the figures may be taken as approximately accurate, there being no intermediate market through which Australian produce could well be sent to India. The chief items were horses wheat, and railway sleepers.

* *

Bengal is rich in coalfields, and out of the 8 millions of tons of coal, worth about 2 crores of rupees, raised in all India in 1904, no less than 7 millions of tons were raised in Bengal. These will seem to be large figures ; but what are 8 millions of tons compared with considerably over 200 million tons annually raised in England ? Our countrymen are engaged to some extent in coal-mining, though greatly hampered in the endeavour both by want of capital and want

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of technical knowledge, and it is a pleasure to note that the Indian Government have granted scholarships to some young Indians to learn practical coal-mining in England. The importance of coal consists in this—that its abundance makes every other industry on a large scale possible. Coal and iron have been the making of modern England, more than any other causes.

* *

Great Britain sent to India last year an extraordinary quantity of metals, hard-ware, etc. The following are the principal items and their value :—

Arms and Ammunition	£140,003	Agricultural Implements	£52,358
Cement	177,103	Other Implements ..	73,929
Furniture... ..	56,977	Sewing-Machines ...	50,613
Rubber Goods	39,871	Other Hardware ...	750,168
Vehicles	142,573	Copper	656,597
Cycles	101,377	German Silver	50,890
Motor-Vehicles	170,222	Iron	1,769,055
Earthenware	125,516	Lead . . .	99,987
Glass and Glassware ...	112,205	Steel	953,578
Cutlery	59,603	Zinc	66,374
Lampware	52,078		

* *

In some Districts of the Central Provinces and in the dominions of most of the Native States in Central India, there are extensive date forests of wild and luxuriant growth. Speaking generally, the date trees in those parts are taller and stouter than those of Bengal ; as they are more numerous in the villages. It is a very remarkable fact, that while the labourers and the cultivating classes in Bengal, particularly those of Jessore, Nadia, Khulna, Faridpur, &c., derive a handsome income by the manufacture of date sugar, crude as well as pure,—by tapping date trees every winter, the Central Provinces and Central India get nothing from their richer possessions of date forests ; though with the exception of one very serious matter, the facilities for the production of date sugar in the Central Provinces and in Central India are great. These facilities consist of cheap fuel and cheap labour ; besides, the climate of the provinces is exceptionally good. The difficulty mentioned above is the entire ignorance of the people in the date-growing tracts of the provinces, how to tap the date trees and to produce sugar from the extracted juice.

* *

If excess of exports over imports be a gauge of prosperity, British India seems to be flourishing. Against an import bill of 68 millions she can boast exports to the value of 105 millions. The exports have increased very much recently, and last year were 25 per cent. above the value of three years before. In trading with most countries Great Britain buys far more than she sells. It is not so in her commercial relations with India, for whereas India purchases British goods to the value of 45 millions sterling, we take her goods in return only to the value of 21 millions sterling, leaving 21,000 for British colonies and 57,000 for foreign countries. But in the whole list of Indian exports there is almost nothing in the departments of iron, steel, and metals. Manganese ore is the only commodity that attains importance, and its value for last year was 287,607/., almost double that of any preceding year. Indian brass and copperware goes everywhere, but it is cheap, and 35,000/., is the grand total of its value exported to all markets

* *

Direct German trade with India almost touched the round sum of 3,000,000/., last year. This looks insignificant in comparison with the large total of Great Britain, and is little more than half that contributed by the British colonies. But it has grown rapidly during the last few years, and the figures for last year represent a sum rather more than double that for the year 1902-3, which was low-water mark. In Germany's record the chief details with which we are concerned are :—

Glass and Glassware	...	£138,298, or + 156 per cent.
Hardware and Cutlery	...	208,537 „ + 46
Machinery and Mill work		57,185 „ + 151
Copper, mixed, or Yellow Metal		142,306 „ „ 894
Iron	...	79,130 „ „ 75
Steel	...	176,523 „ „ 79
Other Metals	...	43,330 „ - 63

India is one of the few countries which, on account of its poverty is still able to export a very large proportion of the hides and skins which it produces. The external trade has risen to nearly 14 crores of rupees, but it is impossible to even roughly estimate the value of the internal consumption. Possibly its value is as great or greater than that of the external trade, and there is evidence that it is steadily rising. Indian skins are of good quality, but, with few exceptions the hides are inferior and it is impossible to obtain a

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first-class manufactured product from them. Cawnpore is the centre of the modern leather trade, and Bombay, on a smaller scale, produces leather in no way inferior. This industry has grown up under the stimulus of demands from the Military Department, and its flourishing condition to-day is due not only to the expansion of military requirements but also to indents from other Government departments which in the aggregate require considerable supplies of leather goods. In recent years a considerable internal demand has grown up for cheap machine made boots and shoes and it is probable that the *Swadeshi* movement, especially in Bengal, has benefited local manufacturers of such goods. Excluding boots and shoes, the value of which is not given separately, the trade returns show that from 25 to 30 lakhs of rupees worth of leather or leather goods are imported into India yearly.

* *

The Eri silkworm is reared in the same way as other Polyvoltine silkworms of Bengal. The cocoons, however, cannot be reeled, and the method of dealing with the cocoons should, therefore, be described. The moths should be allowed to escape from the cocoons, and as in reeling mulberry or tusser cocoons, the insects should not be allowed to remain in the cocoons. The rearing and spinning, therefore, of the Eri silkworm involves no killing of animals, and for this reason alone Eri silk-rearing is popular among amateurs in this country. The fibre also is strong, and *Endi* cloth is on this account very popular, and the rearing of the Eri silkworm though less profitable than that of mulberry or tusser silkworm, is not altogether without advantages. The cocoons, after the moths have escaped from them, are boiled with ashes or better still with lye, as in the case of tusser cocoons, and when cool, well kneaded in the warm lye, and then washed by constant kneading in clean water, wrung out and dried in the sun and spun with a spindle or a wheel at leisure. Eri rearing and spinning must remain for years to come a cottage industry. But Eri cocoons are carded and combed and spun like cotton or wool in European mills, and when the industry is established on a large scale anywhere, a *carderie* on European principles may be established.

* *

* A report from Mr. William H. Michael, the United States Consul at Calcutta, to the Washington Bureau of Manufactures, states that the enormous increase in the goatskins, cow and buffalo hides from India is causing a great deal of comment among those interested

in the leather trade of India. He says the activity of export agents, who mainly represent the United States and the Continent, has almost paralysed the tanning industry of India, and has greatly affected the tan leather exports to England. The United States takes practically all the goatskins produced by India, tans them and converts them into chrome leather, which is acknowledged to be the finest of its kind, and boots and shoes made of this stock in America are found on sale wherever fine foot-gear is worn. Neither India nor England make acceptable chrome leather. The situation forces upon the minds of Indians and others interested in fostering the leather trade of India the question of protection. The only measure thus far discussed to any extent is an export duty, which, however, does not seem to meet what has been characterised as "the critical pass to which the leather trade in India has been reduced." It is realised that foreign merchants must have hides at any cost, and that the export duty would simply serve to raise prices of hides, which would place the leather concerns in India in a worse condition than they are now. A high export duty would swell the Government revenues, but the leather and hide dealers would derive no benefit whatever.

* *

The vicissitudes of the iron industry in India are well described in a paper contributed by Mr. W. McFarlane of the Barakur Iron Works to the Transactions of the Mining and Geological Institute of India. The first works were started so far back as 1838 by the India Steel Chrome and Iron Company which closed in 1859. In 1855 a small furnace was started in Bribhum which made 20 tons per day but closed owing to the difficulty in procuring fuel. An attempt was next made in 1875 to restore it, but that also proved unsuccessful. The next venture was the Kumaun Iron Works in 1857 which closed seven years later owing to the ore and charcoal having to be carried long distances over mountain paths on mules and goats. The next venture was at Burwal in Central India, in 1860, which had a tragic ending for on the day that the furnace was blown in, it cracked and threatened to wreck the tent in which the inaugural banquet was being held; and the engines had to be stopped. That was the end of it. In 1875 a furnace was started at Warord but it worked only six days. The Raja of Nahān and Sirmur and one of the Punjab hill Chiefs made the next attempt in 1880. The furnace was built on a mountain top near his residence but it was never started, as there was no water. Not long ago it

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was proposed to start iron works near Calcutta, bring the ore from Salem, and use sea-shells as flux. But as some 50,000 tons of flux would be required per annum and the gathering of sea-shells to that extent would have been a "large order," the project fell through. Mr. McFarlane very correctly says that most of the attempts to start iron works in India failed because the sites were not well chosen for supplies of raw material and fuel. The Barakar Iron Works have also had a chequered career; but they are now on a sound commercial basis, though the competition with foreign "dumped" steel does not hold out encouraging prospects for steel working in India.

* * *

In an able address delivered in his capacity as Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association, the Hon. Mr. Vithaldas D. Thackersay pointed out how the Bombay mill-owners were being driven away from the market in the Far East and so compelled to pay greater attention to the home market. He frankly admitted that almost every year the desirability of developing the home market was enlarged upon at the annual meeting of the Association, but that as soon as there was even a temporary stimulus to the China trade, the laudable object was forgotten. He further admitted that there was a notable increase of consumption of the products of the mill-industry in the country itself, due to the increased interests which the public took in indigenous industries under the impulse of the *Swadeshi* movement. It will be thus clear that the mill-owners have been benefitted by the *Swadeshi* agitation, though it must be obvious at the same time that they did not prove themselves public-spirited enough to respond to the patriotic movement. The high prices which the mill-owners maintained throughout last year, and which brought gold into their coffers as the high tide brings water into the creeks, may probably come down next year, but that will be not so much because the mill-owners were ready to respond to the patriotic impulse of the consumer-class, who throughout last year paid even unconscionably high prices out of love for Swadeshim, but because they were overproducing their stock-in-trade and were being pushed back in the Chinese market by the pushful Japanese and even the opium-eating Chinese spinners and weavers. During last year the increase in the production of yarn and cloth was no less than over 10 crores of lbs. or 2,50,000 bales of yarn and $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of yards in cloth. And yet the shipments to China were less by 55,000 bales in 1906 than in 1905. Evidently the mill-owner will stand to lose unless

he takes measures to develop the home market which he can do directly only by reducing the unreasonably high prices now prevailing. —*The Mahratta*.

On the 12th March last, a joint deputation representing the chairman and directors of the Indian Railway Companies and the Indian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce waited upon Mr. John Morley, Secretary for India, with reference to the shortage of railway rolling stock and the development of the State railways and commerce in India generally. Mr. J. E. W. Colvin, chairman of the East India Railway Company, addressed Mr. Morley on the great importance of having additional rolling stock to cope with the growing commerce of the Empire. Sir William Bisset, chairman of the Baroda Railway Company, dwelt upon the necessity of a rearrangement of the Indian Budget in order that assistance might be afforded in a substantial sum. Sir Andrew Scoble, representing the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, said they wanted three millions sterling to carry out the necessary improvements upon their line. Sir Edward Sassoon and other Indian merchants also urged their views. Mr. John Morley, in replying, said the total railway expenditure in India was represented by 260 million pounds, and that only 61 millions, including 26 millions of debenture obligations, represented what the deputations stood for that day. He did not want to throw cold water upon their object, but he would point out to them that it was the condition of the money market alone that made it possible to advance only 9 millions for 1907-8, against the 10 millions originally intended. Even this represented a substantial increase over previous years, for twelve years ago the corresponding grant only amounted to 4 millions. The annual provision for rolling stock had more than trebled within the last ten years. In conclusion, he asked the deputation to tell him how to remedy the evils, and said it might be well to have a departmental enquiry into what they found to be a cumbersome and inelastic system. Sir Edward Sassoon said the reply would cause grave disappointment; railway enterprise should be ahead of, and not behind, commerce.

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Rosa-grass oil was formerly designated Turkish geranium oil in the time when the oil entered the European market by way of Constantinople where it was used on a large scale for mixing with otto of roses. It is used by the Arabs and Turks in making hair

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oil, but it is most extensively employed in soap manufacture and perfumery.

Exports of Essential Oils (chiefly Rusa-grass oil) from Bombay.

		Gallons.	Rs.
1896-97	...	8,199	1,49,553
1897-98	...	10,776	2,09,691
1898-99	...	16,000	4,04,140
1899-1900	...	10,400	2,78,005
1900-01	...	12,834	3,44,670
1901-02	.	19,641	6,10,783
1902-03	...	18,872	5,23,630
1903-04	...	20,680	5,38,774
1904-05	...	18,742	4,65,209
1905-06	...	23,436	5,51,425

These figures reveal a five-fold increase during the past forty years, for in 1866-67 we find that 41,643 lbs. (4,627 gals.) were shipped from Bombay to England and ports of the Red Sea. About ten years ago Egypt, the United Kingdom and Turkey in Europe were the principal consumers; at the present time, while Egypt is still absorbing one-third of the exports, Germany and France have become important buyers.

REVIEWS & NOTICES

THE REVIVALISTS' VADE MECUM

[*Hindu Superiority* by Mr. Harabilas Sarda : Ajmer]

First in civilisation, *greatest* in manhood, and *unsurpassed* in spiritual culture and the development of all peaceful arts—such is the Hindu which Mr. Harabilas Sarda essays to prove in the book under notice.

Mr. Sarda takes for his text the following passage from Prof. Max Muller's *India, What Can It Teach Us?* :—

“ If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that Nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of them who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe—we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of the Greeks and the Romans and of one Semitic race, the Jewish—may draw the corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life not for this life only but a transfigured and eternal life, again I should point to India...Whatever sphere of the human mind you may select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philosophy, whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science, every where you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and India only ! ”

With such a text before him, Mr. Sarda can be excused to have begun his book with such a bold statement as that “ in the history of the world India occupies the *foremost* place.” A bold assertion this in all conscience, and Mr. Sarda tries his best to convince an incredulous and sceptical age of the truth of this statement. We shall see in the following pages how he has acquitted himself in his self-imposed task.

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We are told in this book, what no educated man now-a-days doubts, that the Hindu civilisation dates back from a time when all other peoples in the world were grovelling in primitive ignorance and barbarism, and that all the rest of the world owes a debt immense of endless gratitude to the culture and enlightenment which bear the stamp of India upon them.

We cannot, however, follow the arguments by, and the evidence from, which the author arrives at the conclusion that Indian civilisation dates so early as 8000 years back. Geologically, of course, many parts of India are much older than a few thousand years, and the existence of man here and there in the country 10 or 15 thousand years ago, or even several centuries before the Mosaic creation, may not also be very difficult to prove. But between the life of the primitive man and the dawn of civilisation, ages must have intervened; and serious students of the civilisation of the world, Buckle and Guizot included, do not think that human civilisation, so far as we understand by the term to-day, can be much older than 45 to 48 centuries. The existence of dynastic rule or even of an entire register of kings does not necessarily mean the beginnings of civilisation, for the passing of the Crown from generation to generation can be conceived even amongst savage and barbarous communities. It is only when the Crown assumes the nature of a trust and is understood to involve responsibilities that civilisation is said to begin; and no proof is adduced in this book by Mr. Sarda to show that this understanding developed in India at the time or period that he fixes, though he wades through heavy figures and astronomical calculations to give his conclusion the semblance of finality and accuracy. Nor do the facts that money was first coined in India and that scientific or astronomical appliances were invented and used in this country before the Arabs and the Greeks knew anything about them indicate the exact date when the arts of peace and war *began* to develop in the Land of the Five Waters or in the Gangetic Valley.

The other subjects that Mr. Sarda deals with under the section of • "The Constitution,"—it is difficult to see what particular meaning Mr. Sarda attaches to this familiar English word—are (a) Government (b) Social System, (c) Character, (d) Chivalry, (e) Patriotism, (f) Valour, (g) Position of Women, (h) Foreign Relations and (i) The Cause of India's Fall. Mr. Sarda does not tell us what was the nature of the government that was generally in vogue in ancient India nor how the country was administered in those days, but all that he chooses to say on this question is that there was a number of republics in

ancient India, that the laws were very good and advanced, that they had works on Rajniti (politics) and jurisprudence, that the police was “excellent,” that population increased and wealth accumulated, and that the village communities served as model municipalities. All this, no doubt, is very good, but does not establish the proposition that the Indian system was *better* or *superior* to what prevailed in Rome or Greece or, for the matter of that, even in Persia. Mr. Sarda will kindly excuse us if we venture to point out to him that the proper functions of Government are not “only national defence and protection of one individual or of one class from another” as he assumes them to be; but the development of the trade and commerce, arts and industries, the material well-being of the people, the spread of education and sanitation, the opening up of opportunities for scientific research and investigation, the organisation and regulation of capital and labour, the prevention of disease and crime and many other things besides form also the anxious charge of a civilised government of the present day. Though we are not quite sure if the ancient Hindu system would bear this modern test, yet Mr. Rhys Davids has drawn for us in his *Buddhist India* a picture of a society which very much answers such a description. We wish Mr. Sarda could give us a parallel description of the government that obtained in Hindu India before the Christian Era.

Mr. Sarda says that:—“There was a wise and statesmanlike classification (in ancient India) which procured a general distribution of wealth, expelled misery and want from the land, promoted mental and moral progress, ensured national efficiency, and, above all, made tranquility compatible with advancement.” We do not know of any authentic history of India in which it has been shown that there was at any period in the history of this country any thing like a general distribution of wealth or a total, or even partial, absence of misery and want. For aught we know, there was ever such an unequal distribution of wealth in the land that one class of people always remained *extraordinarily rich* and the other *hopelessly poor* and that there was as much misery and want in the land as in any other country in the world. We pity Mr. Sarda for not having paid greater attention to the economic history of India and the condition of the lower classes of the people in this country before making sweeping conclusions of the kind mentioned above.

We can, of course, pass over such careless statements as “there was no hereditary caste in India,” but it is difficult to swallow such a bold assertion as that “the Hindus perfected society.”

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We hope Mr. Sarda knows as much as any of us that we are as far from the millennium yet as were our forefathers at the time of the Mahabharat or about the end of Dwapar when, according to Mr. Sarda, the "sun of India's glory was at its meridian." Human society is such a complex organism and is linked up with so many factors and elements which are beyond human control that to think ever of 'perfecting' it appears very much like moonshine.

The next four chapters on "Character," "Chivalry," "Patriotism" and "Valour" summarise the good points in the Hindu character and give a detailed account of Rajput bravery and martial spirit. We entirely agree with Mr. Sarda in holding that no nation on earth has ever been so chivalrous, so patriotic, so valourous and so pure, kind, and courteous as the Hindus. Mr. Sarda has taken pains to collect a large number of opinions of foreign writers about Hindu character and he quotes three authorities to prove that they were even the handsomest, the wisest and the most tolerant nation in the world.

Every school boy in India knows the story of the heroic defence of Chittore and the bravery shown by Rajput men and women against Moslem encroachments, and Mr. Sarda does well in drawing public attention to them and recounting them for the benefit of his European readers. Truly Mr. Sarda observes: "Rana Pratap of Mewar, Durga Das of Marwar and Prithvi Raj of Ajmir were characters for whose equals in chivalry and patriotism we may search in vain the annals of other nations, European or Asiatic."

The most important chapter in this section is the one in which our author deals with the position of women in ancient India. Mr. Sarda quotes a passage from the Institutes of Manu showing that women occupied a very respectable position in ancient India and states that many of them distinguished themselves as good writers and thinkers and also as warriors, astronomers, mathematicians and queens. It seems now to be generally acknowledged that before the advent of the Mahomedans, women occupied a position of equality and freedom as much as the men, and that in the economy of domestic life the one played as much an important part as the other.

Mr. Sarda truly observes that in India the woman "is in possession of her rights which no power on earth can take away from her. The Hindu woman is not indebted, like her European sister, for her position to a man's love or affection, to the regard or to the exigencies of social life. It is her birthright, inalienable, and recognised by all; it lives with her and dies with her." The law

of inheritance among the Hindus is more considerate, so far as women's rights are concerned, than perhaps among any other people in the world. In the absence of direct male heirs, Hindu widows succeed to a life interest in the real, and an absolute interest in the personal, property of their husbands. Daughters inherit absolutely the property of their mothers ; sisters also can claim from their brothers, under certain circumstances, their maintenance and marriage expenses. Mothers also are entitled to some share and maintenance according to the customary laws of the Hindus. So, whether as a mother or a sister, a wife or a daughter, the rights of women are perfectly recognised and assured in Hindu India, though it must be observed that daughters generally can claim no share in the property of their fathers,—a fact which makes the position of the daughters unenviable in most of the well-to-do families in the country.

We do not see the appropriateness of the next chapter in a book of this kind. India's relation with foreign powers belongs to history proper, and it is difficult to see why Mr. Sarda puts in a chapter in his book only to prove that some of the rulers of India *knew* some of the kings of the neighbouring states and that friendly relations existed among them. The facts that Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta or that Antiochus the Great concluded an alliance with Sobhag Sen, or that Bappa, the ancestor of the Ranas of Mewar, retired to Khorasan, or that the Persian emperor, Nansherawan the Just, gave his daughter in marriage to the then Maharana of Chitore prove nothing beyond the proposition that India was never completely 'shut out from the rest of the world and they are therefore out of place in the book under notice.

In the closing chapter in this section, Mr. Sarda is obliged to admit that the cause of India's fall has so far lain, as it still lies, in the internal dissensions and disunions among her own people. Mr. Sarda briefly recounts the story of the fatal disunion between Prithwi Raj and Jaichand and relates how Porus and Sanga were betrayed by their own countrymen, and concludes by observing that India has never been *conquered* by any foreign invader though she has often been *betrayed* by her own sons. If Mr. Sarda had closely examined into the existence and recurrence of such disunions and treacheries, he would have found that all this was ultimately owing to the absence in India of a higher patriotism than that which binds man to the traditions of his caste and clan. It is remarkable that, while in India we meet with cases of the fullest development of clannish, tribal, parochial, sometimes even provincial, patriotism, the

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idea of considering the whole of India as one's own country and its multitudinous population as one nation never crossed the Indian mind in earlier days, and to this absence of a higher patriotism we owe, as Sir John Seeley clearly proved in his remarkable lectures at Cambridge several years ago, the so-called conquest of India by the Mahomedans and by the British.

The next section of the book is devoted to what our author chooses to describe as the "Hindu Colonisation of the World." As in the previous, so in the present, section, Mr. Sarda is not content with a modest record. We are told that the Hindus not only spread their civilisation to different parts of the world, but they also colonised Egypt about eight thousand years ago, Persia about the same time, and Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, Turkisthan, Germany, Scandinavia, Great Britain, America, China, Burma, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra and Australia at subsequent periods. We donot know why Mr. Sarda excludes France, Spain, North Siberia (South Siberia or Bajrapura is said to have been occupied by the sons of Sri Krishna) and the Pacific Islands from the pale of Hindu colonisation. As it is, the most civilised countries of the world are believed by Mr. Sarda to be inhabited by the children's children of some of the earliest Hindu colonists. It is a pleasant thing—to be the father of the civilized world. But what a pity that the old parent should lag so far behind his own sons living out of India and even be under the subjection of one of them.

Careful research has no doubt established the fact that a numerous branch of the Indo-Aryans once occupied and settled in some of the islands now known as the Eastern Settlements and Farther India. But authentic investigation has not yet succeeded in proving that the Hindus actually colonised some of the countries in Europe or even some portions of America. It may be, and appears very likely, that the Hindu civilisation spread far and wide even before Asoka's missionaries invaded all quarters of the globe with the first gospel of 'sweetness and light,' but beyond proving the fact that the world owes a good deal to the influence of Indian civilisation nothing further is proved by the materials which Mr. Sarda has carefully collected and put together in this book.

Speaking about the earlier colonisations in the world, Mr. Sarda could not have completely ignored the Central Asian theory of the first Aryan emigration. But our author contemptuously brushes aside this theory which was once the subject of a very hot controversy between the late Prof. Max-Müller and Dr. Sayce, and a whole host of orientalisists, and maintains, with the support of

such an indifferent historian as Sir Walter Raleigh, that India was the first-peopled country in the world and that Europe and America, Africa and Australia and the rest of Asia were all subsequently peopled by migrations from India. Mr. Pococke's *India in Greece* is the unfailing guide of Mr. Sarda in this section of his book, and on Mr. Pococke's authority we are informed that "Delhi, Oudh, Agra, Lahore, Multan, Kashmir, the Indus and the provinces of Rajputana sent forth their additional thousands to feed the living tide that flowed towards the lands of Europe and of Asia."

According to Mr. Sarda, Greece was colonised by a people from Magadha, because the name 'Greece' is supposed to be derived from 'Griha' (Rajagriha, once the capital of Magadha), 'Pelasgo' from 'Pelasa' (the ancient name for the province of Behar) 'Gaia' from 'Gya', 'Macedon' from 'Magadha,' and so forth. The colonisation of Rome by the Indians is established on no more sufficient data than two statements from Mr. Pococke's book and the supposed connection between the name of that city and that of the great hero of the Ramayana. The close resemblance between the German word 'mensch' and the Sanskrit 'manush,' both meaning man, the possible degeneration of the Sanskrit word 'Sharma' to the European 'Jerman,' and the existence of some common habits between the Teutonic and the Hindu peoples are thought just enough to prove the colonisation of Germany by a class of Brahmins of India. The Scandinavians are believed by Mr. Sarda to be the descendants of the warrior chiefs of India, because the name of their country is likely to have been derived from the words 'Skanda Nabhi' (warrior chiefs) and because there can be no mistaking the derivation of the word 'Edda' (religious books of ancient Scandinavia) from the Sanskrit 'Veda.' Great Britain's indebtedness to India is inferred by supposing that the Druids were a sort of Buddhistic Brahmins who believed in a divine triad similar to the one existing in Hindu mythology, and from the fact that 'a chief of the twice-born was once brought from Saka-dwip (Britain) to India by Vishnu's eagle.' It is difficult, under the circumstance, not to be surprised at Mr. Sarda's credulity, for each of the facts brought forward by him to support his theory can be better explained by any other theory, e. g. the Central Asian theory of a common Aryan stock, or the close commercial and trade relationship between the East and the West long before the birth of Christ, or the efforts of the missionaries whom Asoka sent out to all parts of the world.

Mr. Sarda is on much safer ground in the remaining sections of

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his book,—Literature, Philosophy, Science, Arts, Commerce and Wealth, and Religion,—for on these subjects there is not much room for speculation or theorising. Mr. Sarda informs us that Sanskrit is perhaps the most ancient language in the world, but he fails to enlighten us on the origin of this tongue or the history of its alphabet. He devotes a chapter to the vedic literature in which he expounds the theory, on the authority of Swami Dayanand Swarasvati and Professor Guru Dutt, that the Vedas contain some accurate description of nitrogen and oxygen and the kinetic energy. There is nothing in the next four chapters, which give only a bird's-eye view of the various departments of the poetry and drama of the Hindus. Besides the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, Mr. Sarda makes prominent mention of some of the works of Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti and Jaydeva, particularly the *Sakuntala*, the *Vikramorvasi* and the *Uttara-Ram-Charitam*. We are also told, perhaps correctly, that, in the composition of tales and fables, the Hindus appear to have been the instructors of the rest of mankind.

In the last chapter in the section on literature, our author treats of the Puranas in the course of which we read that : "the Agni Purana, for instance, contains particulars of the military organisation of the Hindus which in consequence of the loss of the Dhanur Veda are of special importance. The Deva Purana mentions the *brahmastra* which proves the use of fire-arms by the Hindus in those days. The Padma Purana contains a treatise on the geography of India in particular and the universe in general. The Matsya Purana explains the source from which the Jewish, the Christian and the Mahomedan story of the deluge and their cosmogony are derived. The Garuda Purana contains a treatise on precious stones, astrology and palmistry." It is refreshing to find Mr. Sarda admitting the fact that the Puranas contain a lot of useless chaff, and that they have "as much claim to be regarded as the religious books of the Hindus as the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" has to be accepted as the religious book of Englishmen."

The section on Philosophy consists of a short description of the principles of, and European opinions on, the six principal *darsanas* of India with a short note on the *Bhagabat-Gita*.

In the next section we have chapters on medicine, mathematics, astronomy, military science, music and other sciences. Every educated man knows that there was in ancient India a very comprehensive knowledge of medicine and medical treatment and that Charaka and Susruta are the two oldest works on the subject extant in the world. In the language of Sir William Hunter,

"Indian Medicine dealt with the whole area of the science. It described the structure of the body, its organs, ligaments, muscles, vessels and tissues. The *materia medica* of the Hindus embraces a vast collection of drugs belonging to the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, many of which have now been adopted by European physicians. Their pharmacy contained ingenious processes of preparation, with elaborate directions for the administration and classifications of medicines. Much attention was devoted to hygiene, regimen of the body and diet." It has been found on investigation that the ancient Hindus had also a very clear knowledge of surgery, midwifery, chemistry and anatomy.

As regards Mathematics and Astronomy, the Hindus first invented numerals and figures, algebra and geometry, the decimal notation and the differential calculus, and were acquainted with the division of the ecliptic into lunar mansions, the solar Zodiac, the mean motions of the planets, the procession of the equinox, the earth's self-support in space, the revolution of the moon on her axis, her distance from the earth and the dimensions of the orbits of the planet. The ancient Hindus even knew the use of the telescope for the observation of the Heavens.

In the chapter on Military Science, Mr. Sarda treats us to some sensational theories. We are not only told that the Hindus were adepts at naval warfare but mention is also made of a naval department having been attached to the Indian Army during the days of Manu and of the Hindus using cold steel, gunpowder as well as fire-arms in their warfare. A particular weapon called the *shataghni* which is defined as 'a machine which shoots out pieces of iron' was much in vogue.

Indian music, Mr. Sarda thinks, is as old as the Vedas and the innumerable *Rags* and *Raginis* are an index of the high development of that science in India. Of the *rags*, Mr. Sarda says the *deepuck* is now extinct and the other five are still much in vogue. India, our author tells us, produced 'Orpheuses even so late as the 17th century A. D.'

Of the other sciences, the Hindus had, according to our author, advanced knowledge of mechanics, engineering, meteorology, electricity and what not. Our author also informs us that there was in ancient India the knowledge of the science of ballooning which was called the *Viman Vidya* and of wireless telegraphy. Mr. Sarda does, however, nowhere say that the ancient Hindus also knew the properties of radium or electrons, or the benefits of smokeless powder or of heliographic signalling. We are told that not only were

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the sciences of electricity and magnetism extensively cultivated by the ancient Hindus, but they "received their highest development in ancient India." Mr. Sarda also points out that there was also the use of the *agni-rath* or the fire-engine in India long before Stephenson's days. The Hindus were also conversant with the theory of gravitation and the diurnal rotation of the earth on its axis. So the moderns can boast of the knowledge of very few sciences which the ancient Indians did not have.

Nor were the Hindus of the pre-Christian era deficient in the knowledge of any art which we know at the present day. Not to speak of architecture and sculpture, which attained their high-water mark at Ellora and Ajanta long before any brick or stone building was raised any where in Europe, nor even of weaving, which has from time immemorial been the wonder and admiration of the whole world, the Hindus had knowledge of dyeing, painting, smelting iron, tempering steel and hundred and one other arts besides.

On Commerce and Trade, Mr. Sarda has nothing new to tell us. He says, what every body knows from the Periplus, Ptolemy, Strabo and other Greek sources, that the ancient Hindus built sea-worthy crafts, navigated the high seas, and carried their merchandise from country to country,—particularly to Arabia, Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Greece, and Rome,—the principal items of trade and commerce being textile fabrics, spices, indigo and ivory. There were trade routes for caravans throughout the country and all the inland rivers were navigated by a strong commercial fleet. The whole country was dotted with towns and cities, fairs and markets, and ports and harbours.

The last section is naturally devoted to Religion—the culture of the soul in which the Indian mind pre-eminently excels all other peoples of the world. At this test of civilisation, no nation on earth can beat either the Hindu or the Buddhist. It has been justly observed by an European writer that Hinduism satisfies the religious and spiritual yearnings of all sorts and conditions of men, and that "Christianity has nothing to offer to those who are dissatisfied with Hinduism." There is nothing higher, Sir William Hamilton has remarked, in the whole creation than the human mind, and the Hindus have 'the widest range of mind of which man is capable,' says Mrs. Manning. We do not care to inquire whether the mythology of Greece or Egypt has been copied bodily from the Hindus, or if the Christian cosmogony owes its inspiration to Indian speculation, but the fact has been established beyond

doubt that India has given to the world a code of morals and ethics and a conception of God-head which has not yet been improved upon by any other people in the world. Here, at least, it can easily be conceded that the Hindus are *superior* to the rest of mankind.

We have in the above pages briefly glanced over the contents of Mr. Sarda's book and shall now conclude our notice of it by summarising its principal merits and defects.

First of all, the name of the book appears to us to be very unhappy and ill-chosen, in as much as it is bound to provoke a good deal of resentment in many quarters and to create a prejudice against the book and its author, and also because a great portion of it does not actually prove the *superiority* of the Hindus over the other peoples of the world. Mr. Sarda's object would have been much better served if he had named his book either as "Hindu Greatness" or, better still, "A History of Early Hindu Civilisation." As it is, the book will go round the reading public under the disadvantage of a provoking name.

The next great defect of the book is curiously also its principal attraction and merit—its wealth of quotations and extracts. Whenever Mr Sarda has any important proposition or theory to prove, he does it very often not by producing new facts or putting a new interpretation upon old ones but by quoting the opinion of one favourite author or another. An extract is always a bad substitute for an argument, and Mr Sarda overloads all his pages with a plethora of quotations. This detracts from the merits of the book as an original work, but at the same time makes it the most valuable *vade mecum* for those people who agree with Mr. Sarda in believing that all that was in ancient India was the best of all that has ever been seen in this world and that all that is best in modern life existed in ancient India in some shape or other. Though nearly three-fourths of the book under review consist of extracts, we regret to say that Mr. Sarda does not exercise much discrimination in the choice of his authorities. From Darwin's *Voyage Round the World*, Jevon's *Logic* and Herbert Spencer's *Autobiography*, he goes down to *The Montreal Herald*, *The Watertown Post*, *The Hamilton Daily Spectator*, *The Englishman* and the *Arya Magazine*. Whenever Mr. Sarda is in difficulty for the support of a theory, the inevitable Pococke, the eloquent Tod, or the glowing Mrs. Manning come to his rescue. Our author is no less indebted to the researches of Sir William Jones and Count Bjornstjerna, Heeren and Max Duncker (this name is always spelt by Mr. Sarda as Max Dunker), Celebrooke and Elphinstone,

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Colonel Olcott and Mrs. Besant—authorities who command no great respect among scholars and historians of today.

There is another noticeable defect which cannot be overlooked,—it is the spirit of exaggeration and the use of superlatives. Of course, our author is anxious to disarm criticism on this point by taking the readers into his confidence at the very outset by declaring that ‘only roseate hues have been used in the picture of Hindu civilisation painted in this book,’ but meseems the colours are too loud and make the picture a little bit unnatural. We give half-a-dozen passages below, taken off-hand :—

“The ancient Hindus were the greatest nation that has yet flourished on this earth.”

“It is the wisdom of the Hindus that invented the best and the greatest of indoor games,—the game of chess.”

“The lives of the Hindus were regulated by ethical principles of the highest order.”

“The most famous pearls, stones and diamonds in the world are all of Indian origin.”

“The Lyric Poetry of the Hindus is the finest of its kind in the world for the reason that the language in which it is written is the most melodious and musical on earth.”

“As the ancient Hindus were the bravest nation in the world, so did they give to the world its greatest hero. Hercules has been universally acknowledged to be the greatest warrior, the bravest and the most powerful man the world had ever produced. And Hercules was, in reality, a Hindu and not a Greek. Hercules was but Balaram. The word Hercules is derived from the Sanskrit word, *Heri-cules* (हरि-कुल-ईश). Balaram emigrated to Greece after the Mahabharata, and in consequence of the display of the wonderful feats of strength and valour there, the people of Greece began to worship him as a God.”

There are more than four dozen passages of this kind in the whole book.

In concluding this notice we must say that, in spite of its many defects, Mr. Sarda's book is the most interesting account of the ancient civilisation of India that we have ever had the pleasure of reading. Mr. Sarda's style is easy, clear and sometimes rises even to eloquence ; his manner of presenting an argument or advancing a theory is always happy and attractive ; his study is encyclopædic and there is hardly any point in connection with his subject that he does not touch and discuss with some effect and, above everything, he demolishes for good the theory of the hellenic

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origin of Indian civilisation. To the future historian of India this book will prove a mine of information, and to the student of the civilisation of the world it will be really indispensable. We only hope that, purged of its defects and in an altogether new name, the second edition of this work will remain to a distant day the standard history of Hindu civilisation.

P. C. R.

SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA

[Speeches and Writings of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta : Edited by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani : The Indian Press, Allahabad.]

Among the persons who have devoted themselves to the service of our motherland, the name of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta stands in the very foremost rank. One of the oldest of our leaders and one who, next to Mr. Dadabhai, has the longest record of public services behind him, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta has no reason to count upon seniority alone for his claims to leadership ; for, he has been not only a leader, a moulder and an exponent of public opinion for over a quarter of a century, but he also combines in his person qualities that eminently fit one for political leadership in the circumstances peculiar to our public life. He has that grit and moral backbone, that clearness of perception and moral strength, which ever marks a person for political leadership under any circumstance.

For close upon four decades, this Parsee knight has been an acknowledged leader of public life in the Bombay Presidency. During this long and unbroken public career he can count on his side many glorious achievements which are unsurpassed by those of any other leader of public opinion in India. He has borne himself with great credit and statesmanship through stirring times ; he has been at the helm of political life through periods of great trials and tribulations. He may be said to have nursed the political life of his Presidency no less than of India at large, through all the length of its infancy, borne its trials and fought its battles, and has been one of the foster-fathers of the national life that has been budding forth to-day in all the vigour and freshness, and probably in all the restiveness and irritability, of youth. The sayings and doings of such a man, therefore, ought to be carefully recorded and assiduously studied by all who seek to carry further the torch of political liberty which has been so gallantly upheld by the old generation of

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our public men. It is necessary to study them and to be well conversant with them, not only for the sake of the recognition that we ought to accord to the services of public men like Sir Pherozeshah, nor again for the purposes of hero-worship, but for the far more important purpose of carrying on in future our work in the fields in which they have laboured. For, as Mr. Wacha most pertinently observes in his very edifying introduction to the volume under review, the speeches and writings of Sir P. Mehta "are nothing short of an interesting record of notable events in the annals of the country during the last thirty-five years. In them are to be discerned, as in a mirror, the history of Indian progress in all directions, and the evolution of Sir Pherozeshah himself as a citizen and a statesman." If we want to carry on our work in future with prudence and judgment, if we want to feel our way forward in this path, it will never do to ignore either of these items. It is very much to be regretted that of late a race of public men have arisen who affect to live entirely in the present. To them, all that has hitherto been done in the way of public work has been entirely wrong, and not because they have found it so by a study of the records of our public life in the past, but because, inflamed by the passion of an impetuous patriotism, they take it for granted. A study of the records of our past political activity does not find a place in the training of a budding politician ; reading of any sort, except that of daily papers, is discredited, nay, it would seem, almost boycotted. These public men, and the student community who are unfortunately being hopelessly drifted along this current of thoughtlessness, are determined to live furiously in the present, scorning all records of the past, and abhorring all calculations as to the future. Ready-made tables of principles are before them, and, with the assistance of the daily press, they are content to proceed to spin out of these logical consequences, as to what they ought to do in the present, and what ought to be in the future. They always forget to take account of the probable or practicable future in the light of the history of the past, and indulge in wild dreams of the ideal and, to them, the logical future.

It is very much to be regretted that our young men who are to be the citizens of to-morrow should be drifted along this course of dreamy politics. The student community at any rate ought to look upon their time of life as one for preparation, and if they really want to take political life seriously, the best preparation for such a career is not furnished by the indiscriminate inflammation of passions, by the wholesale dedication of themselves to political partisanship

and political demonstrations, but a serious and determined study of the principles of politics, of the history of the development of institutions and ideas, and a complete mastery of the details of the development of nationalism in this and other countries. Participation in political demonstrations or in active political work within their proper sphere is, no doubt, necessary for his education, but the future politician would have wasted his time of preparation if he came to it unprepared with a thorough knowledge of the political institutions of the country which will have to be the data upon which he is to work. A public life that is divorced from history, and a development that takes no account of the past, are chimerical in their character and bankrupt in consequences. Individuals may live in, and for, the moment, but a nation never. Whether you are a revolutionist or a conservative, whether you are a revivalist or a reformer, you have got to take into account the past of all institutions of the country. If you want to storm the citadel of the opposition, no matter what it is, you have to take into account how it grew up, what storms it braved and what are its capacities and weaknesses before you can mature a plan of attack that is not to be absolutely futile.

The field of politics in India is not now the *tabula rasa* that it practically was during the early days of British Rule. Institutions have slowly grown up, liberties have developed, nay, even new bonds have been forged through a long course of history, each experience of which has added one important point to its development. It is, therefore, absurd to suppose that you could theorise about these things at random from abstract principles and in the light of present facts alone.

The history of these institutions have to be studied, and to the study of such history the utterances of such men as have been intimately associated with the making of them are of the greatest assistance. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta is one of those men who have assisted in the making of a large part of the political history of India for over a quarter of a century. During his long public career, he has seen some of the most important political developments and has taken important part in most of them. His speeches and writings, therefore, furnish an interesting record of the living political history of the country during this period. Not only are they important as showing the development of public life in the past, but they are also useful as a *vade mecum* for the intending politician of India, a text book of his political creed, at any rate an invaluable auxiliary in forming one. Thus, whether you agree with Sir Pherozeshah or not, you cannot fail to profit by reading his speeches and

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writings. For they furnish you with a history of our political institutions and develops in you the proper attitude in studying the history from the standpoint of an Indian nationalist. The study of this history which is absolutely essential for the education of every intending politician is sadly neglected now. We have very few presentable hand-books on this most important and useful portion of our national history. Under these circumstances, we cannot be sufficiently thankful to Mr. Chintamani for this collection. Mr. Chintamani is not unknown to the educated men of India. He is one of the small band of eminently thoughtful and unostentatious patriots who prefer to keep themselves behind the front rank and do untold good to the country by unceasing toil and untiring devotion and by their calm and clear-sighted view of things. We are disposed to look upon this work of Mr. Chintamani as characteristic of himself. He carefully keeps behind in the humble garb of an editor, but has with considerable devotion and judgment produced a volume which, though a little too large for handy reference is eminently readable and interesting. We only hope it will be largely read by our young men.

As a record of the development of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta as a citizen and patriot, the importance of this work cannot be exaggerated. Sir Pherozeshah is in that pinnacle of power and influence in his Presidency at which personalities develop into national questions. What such men think and do is of the greatest public importance. Their successes have to be appreciated in true lights, their failures properly gauged. Every action of theirs is submitted to the searchlight of public criticism, not only from a spirit of inexcusable inquisitiveness into personal matters but from considerations of public expediency. For, in all countries, particularly in India, the thoughts and ideas of the leaders count for much. An occasional slip on the part of the leader often ends in such a want of confidence as to lead to an utter collapse of noble endeavours. Strong ideas held by leaders are often enough to turn the tide of public affairs, and the personal sympathies and susceptibilities of the leaders have a great deal to do with wielding the destinies of public life. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that these leaders of men should be properly represented before the public, that the public should not run away with hasty impressions about them, or fondly worship them as felishes. It is thus, as a record of the development of Sir Pherozeshah's career and his convictions, that the collection of speeches here presented is interesting as well as useful, all the more so at a period when the convictions of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta more than that of any

other individual has become a matter of public scrutiny and when his claims to sound convictions and political leadership are being freely challenged.

That Sir Pherozeshah is a great political leader no one will deny. What with his towering eminence in his profession, his vast resources and unbounded influence as a citizen, the command of the confidence and fear of both Indians and Europeans in his native city, his position as the practical dictator of the Bombay Corporation, which the unholy enterprise of a Caucus has failed to break down, his commanding predominance in all public movements, the respect with which he is viewed by all classes as a great Congress leader, and, above all, with his rich heritage of a sturdy intellectual and moral calibre, Sir Pherozeshah may well rest on his pinnacle of eminence on his own merits. But that is no justification for all the superlatives which Mr. Wacha has heaped upon his head in his introduction. The lifelong friendship of the writer may to some extent excuse his partiality, but it is always dangerous to indulge in superlatives and Mr. Wacha's case is no exception. It is very bold to say that in solid worth he excels other public men in India, for there may be men of very great solidity, among whom we count Mr. Wacha himself as one, who are wanting in those charms which catch public applause and have thus failed to come to the forefront in public estimation. It is bolder to say that he is more universally recognised as the first man in India than any other leader, for there are others, who may or may not yield in solid worth to Sir Pherozeshah, but the extent of whose popularity as leaders is not one whit less than that of the Parsee knight. It may perhaps be very near to the truth to say that, for a combination of worth and popularity, Sir Pherozeshah is above other leaders, but whether that is so or not the superlative tribute of Mr. Wacha is unjustified. Equally unhappy is the comparative statement he indulges in when he says, "There is none today to influence the Government at Calcutta in so marked a manner, with infinite sagacity, judicious discrimination and ability, as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta." Opinions may differ as to that, but even if it were the most absolute of all truths, it is about the most ungraceful and invidious thing to say in praise of an individual whom all are willing to admire, but not every one equally ready to idolise with Mr. Wacha. Such statements as these create a personal bias which is very undesirable in forming estimates of a public man, and we gravely doubt if Mr. Wacha has done any good service to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta by these superlatives and invidious comparisons.

We should never be understood to say this in disparagement of Sir Pherozeshah, but in the earnest conviction that that gentleman may proudly stand at the bar of public criticism and come out with his head high without the assistance of these invidious superlatives. His claims to the country's gratitude will be freely granted by every fair-minded critic and the towering eminence of his character readily recognised. For, Sir Pherozeshah has in him pre-eminently that quality of character which ensures a lasting claim on the admiration, attention and obedience of a people, viz., strength. Indeed, the one trait of his personality that stands out most boldly in all his public utterances is this conscious strength. People may heartily disagree with his political convictions, but they cannot fail to be struck with his strength of character. Absolutely fearless, he counts not the odds that are arrayed against him and he gives out his convictions with a force and calmness which always impresses the reader or hearer with the strength of the person uttering them. No matter what others may feel and think, he must needs think for himself. He arrives at his own convictions, gives them an utterance without regarding what others may feel and think, and he would stick to them no matter what or how you think of him. It is this strength and fearlessness of conviction and utterance that more than any other characteristic strikes you all through the entire volume of his speeches and writings.

This trait of character is present in all his utterances from the first to the last. The very first paper in this collection is one read before the East India Association of London. Mr. Mehta there utters principles to which a great portion of educated and patriotic India of today would demur ; he takes the civilisation of India too lightly and puts down too much to the credit of a thorough permeation of Indian life with English ideas by means of an exclusively English education. His utter scorn of Sanskrit as a medium of education is pitched in a high tone, and his contempt of vernaculars is scarcely edifying. One scarcely knows whether all this is at all necessary to advocate English education. But young Mr. Mehta gave public utterance to all these sentiments with the courage and confidence of youth, and with a strength and moral power which is not exceeded by his latest utterances. What is more, he seems to stick to his opinions with the same unbending conviction even to-day.

A further and more characteristic illustration of his strength is furnished by his paper on Municipal Reform in Bombay in 1871. The accredited leaders of public opinion and the Corporation as a body had set their heart upon a scheme of Executive Government

which Mr. Mehta considered strongly objectionable. He favoured the centralisation of executive power in one individual and thus ran directly counter to popular opinion and was profusely hissed and twitted for his heresies. His scheme however was adopted by the Legislature, and it seems to have been working satisfactorily ever since. Here, in the face of the opposition to the very people whom he sought to lead and represent, he made his pronouncements with a calmness, far-sightedness and deliberation that was not commensurate with his years, with a confidence and self-dependence that was entirely his own and, above all, with that incomparable strength and force that stamps all his utterances, early or late.

Once again the same characteristic found vent in his speech on the Volunteer Movement so early as 1877. A public meeting was convened under the presidency of the Governor, where it was proposed to organise with a help of all the official notabilities a Volunteer Corps to defend Bombay. The proposal was to confine the Corps to Europeans and Eurasians alone. Young Mr. Mehta stood here to move an amendment, and this he did with such superior dignity, scorn of duplicity and nonchalant confidence that the whole meeting was disconcerted and the Governor and his assistants were made to appear awfully small. As one reads the speech, its cool collectedness inspires the reader with his strength, and though he does not say a word of it, the reader feels the utterly contemptible pettiness of those he is opposed to.

These are some of the specimens of the strength of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to be found in the speeches of his earlier days, and it is a trait of his character which you discern more and more as you come to his later speeches till you can picture to yourself the great debater looked upon with dread by all opponents, no matter how great. He fears no body and neither the frowns nor the humours of the officials or of a thoughtless public will persuade him to swerve one jot or tittle from the clear line of duty or conviction. He never revels in leadership, never woos popular applause, but the admiration and applause of the people naturally come to him, because he is every inch a stronger man than others. To pander to public opinion is as little to his taste as to fawn on official favour. The ideal of leadership which he has set forth, in the memorable passage in the speech on the Bombay Municipality, already referred to, deserves to receive a great deal of attention from 'intending' leaders. "The self-constituted leaders of popular movements," says he, "have a two-fold duty to perform. It is not sufficient for them to stand forth boldly to give loud utterance to confused and incoherent

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popular cries. It is not sufficient for them to reiterate and proclaim the popular, indiscriminate wailings and inconclusive analyses of public grievances. There is another and a higher duty cast upon them, the duty of guiding and rolling the movement in its proper path, of extricating it from the confusion of words and thoughts under which it usually labours, of analysing the genuine and substantial causes of it, of discovering and proposing measures well adapted to the end in view."

To carry this ideal into practice, to face popular opprobrium, and to guide people's activities to profitable channels require more courage and strength than to oppose a government no matter how great. Sir Pherozeshah possesses this strength and courage to a remarkable degree. With strength he combines an amount of coolness and self-possession that is at once amazing and often irritating. While strong and unswerving in his adherence to popular rights and popular interest, while often in conflict with Government in the interests of his people, Sir Pherozeshah would on no account permit himself to be unfair to the Government. There are times when he carries this fairness a little too far, when even in the face of the strongest provocation he refuses to find sinister motives in Government officials. His temper is imperturbable, and even in the face of the outrageous provocation given by the conduct of Anglo-Indians in connexion with the Ilbert Bill controversy, he maintained an amount of good humour which, while it only enhances our appreciation of his strength and dignity, surely irritates his readers with a sense of the inadequacy of his utterances to the requirements of the situation. Compare his speech on the occasion with the famous Dacca speech of Mr. Lalmohan Ghose, and you will properly appreciate the character of Sir Pherozeshah's strength. While Mr. Lalmohan Ghose poured forth the vials of his wrath in glorious invective and in rolling periods of impetuous oratory, Sir Pherozeshah calmly discussed the principles of the Bill and the generous policy of British Rule. "I for one," he says, "am inclined to make great allowances for, nay almost to treat with tenderness, this sudden ebullition of anger and fury when I realise the real character of it. Gentlemen, all men have their nobler and baser instincts struggling within them, and you will find that even in the most well-disciplined organisations, in the most well-balanced minds, after the nobler instincts have well established their sway, a moment comes when the smallest rift upsets the work of years, casts everything into confusion and generates a whirlwind at which

those who knew the men before as good and worthy stand aghast. So, it seems, has been the case with Europeans in India." Contrast this position with the powerful invective in the memorable Dacca speech of Mr. Ghose. If the choice must be made, the average Indian will rather go with the angry out-burst of Mr. Ghose than with the calm philosophy of Mr. Mehta. At the same time, every one will look with amazement at the extraordinary calmness and self-possession of Mr. Mehta, and admire the various points of his criticism.

The wonderful calmness and moderation of his utterances receive their moral support from a deep-seated conviction in the honesty and good wishes of the British Government. It has always been the first principle of his political creed, a principle that permeates the entire work, that the British have come here under a divine dispensation to do good to the country, that British Rule is calculated to work the greatest good to this land and that British Officers honestly and anxiously endeavour to do good to the people of India. Even so late as 1904, when the country's fund of patience was well-nigh exhausted by Lord Curzon's extravagant demands on it, we find Sir Pherozeshah saying, "We in Bombay use no violent language; and when we have to criticise the Government * * we only call it erring and misguided." Further on in the same speech he goes on to say, "We truly and earnestly respond to the words in which Lord Curzon adjured us the other day on his landing 'I pray, I pray the native community in India to believe in the good faith, in the high honour and in the upright purpose of our countrymen'." This confidence in British Rule is largely supported by a deep-seated conviction in the identity of interests between the rulers and ruled. This is a principle which makes itself felt in all the speeches and writings of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta no less than in the writings of other public men of an earlier time. It is this conviction which gives rise to the supreme confidence in, and loyalty to, British Rule among a certain class of public men in this country.

Side by side with this supreme and unfailing faith in British justice and British honesty, there is his want of confidence in the people which also makes itself painfully felt in all his public utterances. This is only the counterpart of the supreme faith in British Justice and the faith in the identity of interests of Britishers and Indians. The past history of India appears to him utterly despicable, and it is the light of Europe only, he thinks, that has dragged us forward to any amount of civilisation and worth. This

belief Sir Pherozeshah shares with all the rest of the pioneers of that civilisation. We can make large allowances for the intoxication of new ideas and the blinding effect of a sudden light upon some of the earliest recipients of English culture, but India of today will heartily refuse to go with him in hearty assent when he says all these things. There is a school of opinion which sees nothing good in Western civilisation and deems it blasphemy to say that we have progressed to any extent under British Rule. When Babu Surendra Nath Banerji ventured to refer to our progress in education some time ago, one of the exponents of this school sermonised him on his want of respect to our forefathers. Now, this is of course absurd. Similarly are men like Sir Pherozeshah, who believe in the total Anglicising of our educated men as a right step towards advancement and look upon all association with indigenous culture or civilisation as a contamination, evidently in the wrong. Sir Pherozeshah and his friends have largely carried this principle into practice, but the rest of India has stubbornly refused to follow them, not because of their innate conservatism but because being used to the glare of Western civilisation men of to-day have learnt to look at it in its true perspective and refuse to give it the exaggerated pre-eminence that the pioneers proclaimed.

Sir Pherozeshah is cautious and dispassionate to a fault. His criticism of Government measures, no matter how iniquitous, are hemmed in by such a vast amount of qualifications that it not unoften provokes rebellion.

The Government undoubtedly wishes to do the right thing but it is wrong in its estimate of facts and consequences. They may be justified by reason of facts not known to the public, public criticism must needs be ill-informed, but still even such criticism has its value. These and such like apologies abound in his speeches and writings and though endowed with great powers of invective and railery he makes use of them very rarely and is very often willing to strike but very loath to wound. His lawyer's mood is present in all his public utterances. The judge may be impatient, he may show a dogged determination not to be convinced, but the lawyer would argue still. When Government officials vent their spleen in no unmistakable fashion, he would calmly swallow the abuse and go on arguing still. We do feel that there is a limit to patience and there is a point at which argument scarcely serves any purpose.

Though thus Sir Pherozeshah's overpowering confidence in the justice and honesty of Britishers, and a corresponding diffidence in

the powers of our people, are a take-off from his vast usefulness as a public man and though these undoubtedly disfigure to a certain extent his speeches and writings, yet there can be no gainsaying the surpassing merits of these utterances, whether judged from the point of literary merit or from that of political wisdom. They are the solid, substantial pronouncements of a man of strong common sense and stupendous intellectual calibre. They sweep the whole ground of political life of India for the best part of half a century, and do so with an ability that is scarcely surpassed by any other public man in India.

His great resourcefulness in oratory, his vast command over the niceties of English language which give such a point and piquancy to his utterances, his deep sense of proportion, his sparkling wit and glorious powers of invective all give his speeches and writings a charm and grace which not many can surpass or even equal. For all this, his speeches ought to receive careful reading no less than for its great intrinsic worth. We wish the publication will be largely read, for it cannot but be read with pleasure and profit, and we cannot but congratulate Mr. Chintamani on his opportune and interesting publication.

Vogelungen

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

THE AGITATION IN BENGAL

Under the above heading an article appears in the April number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. The object of this article is to cry down the Partition agitation and to villify its leader, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea. The writer, Mr. R. Carstairs, is a C.S. and like most of the members of this service he does not find anything but 'self-interest' in Indian agitations. What if Mr. Morley and Lord Minto have recognised in their turn that a new spirit is stirring up India? To these *Subjunta* Civilians, this new spirit is a myth and the unrest and agitation are only the outcome of continued wire-pulling of a few "professional agitators." Mr. Carstairs's experience of Bengal is, he says, of nearly thirty years. This long service must have considerably added to his purse, or how could he make time to spend so much venom on Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea and our agitations? But as regards his knowledge of the province we are afraid it has been where it was before he began his career. We give here an abstract of this precious article for the edification of our readers.

Mr. Carstairs first gives a description of Bengal. It was once a Hindoo kingdom in the delta of the Ganges. After the destruction of the kingdom it became a province of the Moghul Empire. It has given its name to the one of the three presidencies of British India which has spread all over Northern India from Afghanistan to China. Its Governor was at one time the Governor-General of India. Its capital Calcutta, once a village of mud hovels, is now the capital of India, one of the world's greatest ports, and the second largest city of the British Empire. Bengal is too heavy a charge for one administration. On account of its bulk it could not be promoted into a presidency with a governor and council like that of Bombay and Madras. Therefore the only alternative left was to divide the province into two. This was done, and Eastern Bengal was joined into one province with Assam, whose small size had caused nearly as much inconvenience as did the bulk of Bengal. The writer admits that an apparently better arrangement would have been to form a new province out of the three western sub-provinces of Behar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa. But what if it was not done? Are not both parts of Bengal proper still under the same Govern-

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ment and laws and subject to the jurisdiction of the same High Court? Some irritation, he says, is inevitable when so great a change is made, but the heat of language used by the agitators 'needs further explanation,' and here comes out the genius of Mr. Carstairs. There may be a mixture of patriotic sentiment but the root-motive, according to this redoubtable ex-civilian, is 'self-interest.' The following circumstances prove it *clearly* :

"The Partition is not objected to by the whole country. The Mahomedans approve it. All the protests come from the Hindus—but not on religious grounds. All the prominent agitators belong to the three castes which claim pre-eminence among the Hindus of Bengal—the *Brahmans*, the *Vaidyas*, and the *Kayasthas*. These castes are not satisfied with the Government, for their ideal is to bring back the state of things which existed before the advent of the Mahomedans and the British, when to them belonged of right all employments for which educated men were needed. They resent, on the one hand, the retention of Europeans in the public service, and on the other, the admission to compete with them of Mahomedans and the lower classes of Hindoos whom, in their opinion, the British government has gone out of its way to educate. But it is the settled policy of the Government to give equal opportunities to all castes and races and the Partition of Bengal was only a move forward towards that direction. This alarmed the castes and hence the agitation." The writer seems to be angry with Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea because he is one of the leaders of the agitation and an advocate of the principle of *India for the Indians*. Indeed, why should he not be so? For 'has not Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea committed a serious crime' by not advocating the cry of 'India for the Civilians'? Mr. Banerjea and those who think with him wish to bring about a paralysis in the administration of India as a step towards getting the control of affairs into their own hands, and the 'coronation' of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea looked, according to the writer, like an overt act in the same direction. From this, the reader may have an idea of the writer's knowledge and far-sightedness. However, he has no advice to give whether this 'agitation game' should be put a stop to or allowed to run its course, but relies on the 'man on the spot.' Why not, indeed?

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His Highness the Aga Khan is the acknowledged head and leader of the *Khoja* section of the Mahomedan community in

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India. It does one's heart good to notice from time to time the political views expressed by His Highness, which naturally carry much influence and weight with the people. Under the title of "Some Thoughts on Indian Discontent," the Aga Khan has contributed an ably written article to the February number of the *National Review* in which he gives a bit of his mind on the present political situation. His main suggestions do not find favour with us and we are afraid they seem to be a little bit too chimerical, though, at the same time, we must admit that the Regency advocated by His Highness would be more in accordance with the Hindu feeling and tradition than the present system of bureaucracy obtaining in India.

A sentimental loyalty to the Crown and the Flag and practical discontent at heart—"a discontent that, though not disloyal, has yet in it the germs of danger"—this, according to the writer, is the present position of political affairs in India. The Aga Khan discusses at some length the reasons which have led him to this conclusion. He denies that ultimate peril can be met by more efficient administration on the present lines or the slow growth of material property, or that reliance can be placed on the so-called opposition of the native races, or, in the long run, on force alone. 'It is,' he says, 'necessary for England to possess the affection or at least to prevent the hostility of her Indian subjects if she wishes to rule the country permanently.' He declares that 99 out of each 100 of the most disaffected men in India prefer the 'Colonial Ideal' to that of separation. He is deeply convinced that it would be 'a great ethical wrong, unworthy of a Christian and humane nation' to give over the real power of the Government to the people of India.

Whatever may be the material or educational test of the franchise, His Highness adds, the result would be, under the present state of social evolution, that power would concentrate into the hands of individuals or communities who, while in many things abreast of the times, are in other things full of prejudices against the lower classes of their countrymen. It must not be forgotten that many of those who to-day are demanding the highest political rights in India deny to their own dearest and nearest female relatives and to the lower classes of our people even the first principles of liberty.

He traces the present dissatisfaction not to the absence of political concessions to the people but to the fact that the Indians still find themselves socially and morally inferior to Europeans after so many years of British rule. What, then, is the Aga Khan's remedy? It is one already suggested by the Gaekwar of Baroda, namely, the abolition of the political Viceroyalty and the institution

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of a non-political Regency with a descendant of the Sovereign as a permanent Prince Regent.

Of course, says the Aga Khan, the Regent must be a very near relative, son or grandson, of the Sovereign. Coming out to India at about the same age as a Civil Servant usually does, for some thirty years' Regency, the Prince can retire from office soon after he is fifty. Round the Regent slowly would gather all the most earnest men of India, chiefs and princes downwards. Political questions would receive the amount of interest and importance due to them, and not, as at present, practically monopolise Indian public life. The Regent, being free from political cares, would put himself at the head of all movements, social, literary, economic, and artistic, in short all that would improve the relations of all sections of the people, destroy racial and religious particularisms, and help to amalgamate the parts into a healthy whole. The social reforms carried would, being due to the guidance of the Regent and the free choice of the people, be the best possible school for learning the secret of political freedom that India can ever possess. The Prince's interest in national life as a whole would elevate it by attracting to its service many of the best brains now wasted in the arid field of political controversy. Political changes so constantly prayed for would then come naturally, and be welcomed alike by India and England, for they would be the result of mutual understanding.

The Aga Khan considers that, under such a Regency, India could be governed for eighty or ninety years at least 'without any political change in the real character of its government.' The article and the suggestions contained therein are deserving of serious consideration from all thinking men in India.

BLACK FEVER IN ASSAM

The following account of the pestilential *Kalazar*, which sweeps away every year thousands and thousands of our fellow-countrymen in Assam, is culled from a recent issue of the *British Medical Journal* :

"A knowledge of the existence of *kala-azar* dates back at least to 1869, but the disease first attracted especial attention in 1882, when it seemed to take on an epidemic form in Assam, depopulating certain areas at the foot of the Garo Hills, and spreading widely in different directions. *Commissioners were sent out to study it, but its symptoms, pathology, and epidemiology baffled more or less completely the competent observers who took part in the inquiries.

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By some, for example, it was supposed to be a form of ankylostomiasis, by others a severe form of malarial poisoning (malarial cachexia), while various epidemics, of what we now know to have been the same thing, occurring in other parts India than Assam were variously designated Dum-Dum Fever, Burdwan Fever, and *kaladukh*. Though Crombie on clinical grounds held that there was a distinct form of fever in Calcutta in no way connected with malaria, to which he gave the name "non-malarial remittent fever," chaos reigned more or less supreme till Leishman by a brilliant discovery solved the problem by finding a peculiar form of protozoal parasite in the juice from the spleen of some of the Dum-Dum cases. Once this discovery was announced, a search for the parasite in cases of *kala-azar* in Assam, and in sporadic cases throughout India resisting quinine and variously designated tropical cachexia or tropical splenomegaly, reveal its presence, and the trend of opinion now is to term all cases as *kala-azar* in which Leishman's parasite may be demonstrated. This, of course, has simplified the subject enormously, and geographical application of the test has shown that the disease is more widely spread than was formerly supposed, cases having been demonstrated in China, Egypt, and other countries, and the further discovery of apparently similar or at least closely allied bodies in chronic sores (Delhi boils) has raised the very interesting question—at present unanswered—whether this is a stage or phase of the same disease. Though some years have elapsed now since Leishman's discovery, we have not advanced much further in the knowledge of what this interesting parasite really is, and protozoologists have not yet classified it into its proper family, genus, or species. Laveran's view, that it is a piroplasma, has little to support it, and has rightly, we think, been dropped, whereas the hypothesis that the protozoon is a stage or phase of a flagellate organism would seem to be correct. The trend of opinion is certainly in favour of this view, and it is strengthened by the work on its development into a flagellate outside the human body in citrated blood at low temperatures recorded by Dr. Rogers in his lectures. This original observation, an observation of the greatest importance, led the author to the hypothesis that the citrated blood at low temperatures used in the experiments might in nature be replaced by the juices of some insect's stomach, and he found that the sterile and acid contents of the bug's gastric tract formed a very suitable medium for the development. Feeding experiments were next tried, but in the author's case gave negative results, though he is now able to state that experiments made by Patton have been successful. This

requires confirmation as flagellates of different kinds are common parasites of insects, and it would be desirable to know whether the bugs were reared from the egg before sucking the cases. One thing against this theory of the method of the spread of the disease founded on the experiments is the extreme rarity of the protozoa in the peripheral blood of persons affected by the disease ; and it is not at present easy to accept Donovan's statement to the contrary effect referred to in the lectures, especially as so many competent observers, including the lecturer himself, have repeatedly failed to find the parasites there. The possibility that the parasite escapes from ulcers of the intestines or skin cannot as yet be altogether put aside. * The question of how the parasite leaves the body is of course the crux of the whole situation, and this must be cleared up even to the smallest details, and an answer obtained before adequate prophylactic measures against the spread of the disease can be devised. The segregation experiments of Price prove almost conclusively that the disease is infectious, and the tendency to linger in special houses is certainly suggestive of an insect intermediary, but, as far as the work has gone, the chain of evidence is not complete if we apply to it the most most rigid scientific tests.

" The disease is a terrible scourge, and, as is the case with regard to so many other popical scourges, prevention ss the great aim to keep in view, the various lines of treatment at present hitherto tried being of little avail. Bentley's figures for Assam, for instance, give the extraordinary high deth-rate of 96 per cent.. Arsenic seems to be the only drug that does any good, and its effects are only temporary ; quinine has been considered unless by most of those who have used it, though the lecturer states that he has found it of benefit. Atoxyl is, as he suggests, worthy of trial.

" On the whole, then, the results of the researches into *kala-azar*, as far as they have gone, are satisfactory ; a very strong working hypothesis has been established, and this success may be used as another argument in support of the view that the duty of the Government of India and other topical countries is to encourage scientific research into the cause of disease, expenditure for this purpose being in the long run a true economy."

THE TREATMENT OF SEDIATION IN INDIA *

Under the above sensational heading the February number of the *Blackwood's Magazine* published an anonymous article, the authorship of which is attributed by some people to no other than

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the whilom spouse of the Hindu-Mahomedan *populi* of Bengal and whose abrupt and compulsory exit from the stage of his notoriety was at least as dramatic as that of his unfortunately powerful patron. In this article the writer tries to justify the "hammering policy" which Sir B. Fuller pursued in the eastern districts of Bengal and blames the Government of India for throwing him overboard at a time when he was busy destroying the germs of sedition in the infected quarters. The paper is more of the nature of a ridiculous vindication of the misdeeds of a tyrant than a literary production suitable to find place in any sober and serious periodical.

Sir B. Fuller—we do not see why we should not take him to be the apologist of his own policy as others have reasonably surmised—is true to his salt. At the very outset of the article the writer goes on to show that the Partition of Bengal is a harmless affair. He can never believe that the various races of Bengal are tied together so finely that any outlying portion cannot be placed under a separate administrator without wounding the feelings of the people concerned. The writer cannot maintain that within historical times Bengal has enjoyed autonomy of any kind. Its union has been due to the administrative arrangements of its rulers. The strength of a sentiment, says the writer, must be admitted even when it has little solid foundation. In British colonies, identity of interests very soon creates a spirit of *quasi*-patriotism. In India the conditions are different. Men are so divided by barriers here that an *esprit de corps* cannot readily spring up among the people. Nor can this division cause, in his opinion, any inconvenience to the people concerned, for the laws and regulations remain unaltered and the chief judicial courts of appeal are also the same. Mr. C. J. O'Donnell's contention that trade will be hampered by the division is also groundless, as the trade of India is not bound by provincial limits; there are no internal customs' lines and the administrations of the great means of communication are imperial. Why then this virulent agitation?

There are three circumstances a consideration of which may give a clue to the origin of the movement: (1) It is confined to the Hindus; (2) it is engineered and controlled in Calcutta; (3) the Mahomedans are against this agitation. The Hindus have enjoyed an ascendancy ever since the establishment of British rule and have acquired almost a monopoly of the public services. In the eastern districts the Hindus hold about 95 per cent. of the appointments in the Civil Service. The formation of a new province has thrown so strong a light on this disparity that its maintenance has become impossible.

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The Hindu families and castes, many of them connected with Calcutta, have seen that their interests are threatened. This is the root-motive of the agitation. The agitators not only held protest meetings and sent petitions, but also declared a boycott of all British goods so that under pressure from Lancashire and other places the Government might be coerced into annulling the Partition. The people, however, did not respond to the call. So it became evident that force of some sort was necessary, and accordingly students were let loose to persuade those who did not as yet join the movement. This naturally excited much disturbance and unrest. Race-feeling was rapidly growing between Hindus and Mahomedans. The rioting might soon become a very serious affair. Such, says the writer, was the condition of affairs when Sir B. Fuller was installed on the *Guddee* of the New Province. He tried his best to get the leading men to come to his side and to use their influence in the cause of order, but the unofficial Hindus would have nothing to do with him. The Lieutenant-Governor found himself in a dilemma. There were two schools, whose pupils had become notorious for misconduct. The Inspector of Schools, a Bengali gentleman, reported strongly against them. Such being the circumstances, the Lieutenant-Governor bethought himself of the orders issued in October, 1905, by Sir Andrew Fraser, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Bengal, and applied to the Syndicate of the University for the disaffiliation of the two "Academies of Sedition." Long after this, the Government of India wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor that, as some difference of opinion was likely to arise in the Syndicate, it would be better for him to withdraw the application. They admitted that the conduct of the students was scandalous in the extreme, but held that it was inexpedient to take any step against them at a time of great public excitement. They preferred to rely upon the gradual effect of the new University regulations which aimed at discouraging the participation of students in political movements. Had they done this in a public letter, it would have been straightforward, but instead of doing that, they chose to make him a scapegoat, for the unofficial or demi-official letter which they wrote could not be quoted.

In the opinion of the writer this weakness on the part of the Government of India has worked incalculable mischief. The Mahomedans have found it necessary to create a political organisation for the protection of their interests which they hitherto entrusted to the honest impartiality of the British administration.

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The audacity of the ever-audacious Hindus has also increased greatly. They have resolved in what they 'mis-call' a national congress to continue the boycott and have, through the mouth of their President, 'a Parsee and a blatant dabbler in politics,' enlarged the programme of their demands.

The writer has a rotten cause to advocate, and he weeps bitterly over what he considers an injustice done to Sir B. Fuller by the Government of India from whom 'he had a right' to expect support. Mr. Surendranath Banarjea has not certainly been spared from these venomous vapourings and the writer wickedly refers to him with a sinister chuckle. The paper is concluded with the remark that 'sedition is a plant whose roots spread underground and will rise with a stronger growth in other provinces than Bengal.'

COLOMBO

The harbour and docks of this great Ceylon port are thus described in a recent number of the *Men and Women of India* a journal whose discontinuance is a matter of sincere regret to the reading public of India :—

"Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, is first mentioned in European history in 1517, when the Portuguese, who invaded it and founded a trading settlement there, first called it by that name in honour of Christopher Columbus. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch in 1658, and the last gave way to the English who occupied it in 1796.

"For many years Colombo's development was greatly handicapped by the shortcomings of its harbour; but the great breakwater, which was begun in 1875, has changed all that, and the improved harbour facilities have attracted a great deal of shipping to the port, and have enabled Colombo almost to supersede Galle as a coaling station. H. E. the Governor of Ceylon has just appointed an influential commission composed of twelve official and non-official members, with the Colonial Secretary as its President, to inquire into the question of the harbour revenue of Colombo. The appointment of this commission and the throwing open there recently of the new Graving Dock, built at an expense of nearly sixty lakhs of rupees, have naturally once again called the attention of those concerned to the harbour itself. Steady progress has been made within the last thirty years in the matter of Colombo's harbour, docks, &c., and even now the subject of the future enlargement of the harbour has received the attention of the authorities, and the question of constructing a wet dock been mooted, but the estimated cost is said to be too considerable to induce them to take up the schemes at present.

"It appears that the idea of providing Ceylon with an artificial harbour was originated by the Earl of Carnarvon who, in 1866, suggested the improvement of the natural harbour at Point de Galle. In 1870 the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, influenced by the opinion of the Master Attendant, Captain Doman, pointed out that Colombo was the best place for providing increased harbour

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accommodation. It was shown that Colombo, being only 30 miles out of the direct course between Aden and Galle and 18 miles out of the direct course between Bombay and Galle, might serve as the great coaling station of the East, and that it was a more accessible port than Galle, being free from the dangerous and treacherous currents which exist off Galle.

"Since 1870 very extensive works have been carried out in Colombo harbour, and a large number of buoys, sheltered by the South-west Breakwater, is arranged in 6 tiers parallel to the Breakwater. There is also a patent slip, which is capable of dealing with vessels up to 220 feet in length and 1,200 tons in weight, and quite recently, as mentioned above, a Graving Dock has been given to it, the sod of which was cut by Sir West Ridgeway, the then Governor, in March 1899. It is over 15 years since Sir John Cood reported on an estimate for the Graving Dock, and in 1897 the Legislative Council voted money for the construction of such a work at a cost of £318,000. Changing conditions in ship construction have since necessitated corresponding alteration in the plans of the dock, and up till now, in round figures, some £400,000 have been spent on the work.

"This Graving Dock, as completed, is of strategic importance rather than commercial. It lies nearly due east and west, and has a length over all of 763 feet, and the width between main copings in 113 feet. In addition to the above facilities, according to the *Ceylon Observer*, preliminary operations have commenced in connection with the construction of the sheltering arm which is to protect the Southern entrance to Colombo Harbour. The work is one of considerable magnitude and will cost some Rs 66,00,000; and naturally much interest will be evinced in its progress by the whole of the Eastern shipping which uses the port.

"Colombo is a charming place and contains many fine public and private buildings. It is the seat of an Anglican bishop. Among its chief buildings and institutions are the Government House, Court House, Town Hall, two Colleges, an Asylum and a Museum."

PROSPECTS OF A SECOND MUTINY

Mr. A. J. Fraser Blair, Editor of the *Empire*, is one of a handful of Anglo-Indians whose views on Indian affairs are characteristically sympathetic and whose methods of expressing them are remarkably straightforward. In a recent Calcutta meeting, Mr. Blair read a very valuable paper entitled *If there were Another Mutiny*, which deals with the current political problem in India with an ability and impartiality peculiarly his own.

British Empire in India, observes Mr. Blair, is the strangest thing in the world. There has never been anything quite like it before and there will never be anything like it again. Three hundred millions of people here are governed by a few thousand foreigners whose own homes are at the other end of creation. These foreigners shut themselves up in a ring fence of social exclusiveness, and India with its history, its aspirations, its griefs and its possibilities

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does not exist for them. Naturally this picture has its reverse. The children of the soil gaze at these intruders with ever-increasing wonder, and the differences of race, religion, customs and ideals stretch between the rulers and the ruled like so many hostile encroachments. Mr. Blair admits that the whites do not understand the Indians and what is more they do not *want* to understand them. The gulf between these two classes has been growing for years. Mutual misunderstandings and an increasing impatience at the idea of any kind of racial predominance have led to a feeling of mutual resentment which has become chronic. This feeling has been aggravated by controversies over the Partition of Bengal and many Indians, not in Bengal alone, have been moved to take up a vehemently anti-British attitude leading to the boycott of British goods and, in a few instances, of every individual Britisher. Mr. Blair asserts that the boycott has not succeeded in driving British goods out of India. He is however of opinion that to look upon this movement as a purely economic one is to be wilfully blind. It is a political portent such as has never appeared in India before. The writer believes that the anti-British feeling has been absurdly exaggerated by a few alarmists.

Yet Mr. Blair holds that a military rising of the Indians is unthinkable and has not the faintest chance of success, though the same object could be far more easily accomplished and with far better success by a passive resistance of all the people to everything British. "India is so immense," says the writer, "and we are so few that the moment that immensity comes into play, our comparative helplessness is at once brought home to us." While confessing that he does not quarrel with the idea of British garrison, the writer thinks it to be the height of folly to imagine that all the English have to do is to sit tight and keep their powder dry. Gunpowder is an excellent thing in its way, but it is apt to be more of a nuisance than a help, supposing we find ourselves on the slopes of an active volcano.

As to how far the British position in India has been affected by the recent events, the writer says that there is diversity of opinion even among the Indians themselves. The enormous majority of them are fully aware that they stand to lose more than they would gain by an immediate change of Government. But on the other hand the thinkers of India are working for an India which will be run entirely by Indians and which will be absolutely free to achieve its own salvation in its own way, whether political, economic, or religious. The writer advises the Englishmen to

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try to reason things out a bit and plan their attitude accordingly, rather than go in their happy-go-lucky fashion, shutting their eyes to disagreeable truths and then to feel surprised when they run their heads against a wall.

The writer then says with some satisfaction that the enlightened section of the Indian people would not like to see the English leave the shores of India, during the next few years at all events, and quotes from a recent issue of the *Indian Mirror* a passage in support of his statement. The extremists, who are at this moment preaching a *jehad* against the British Government, represent the natural impulse of men upon whose minds the consciousness of national unity has just begun to dawn. In proclaiming that British rule in India must come to an immediate end, they are only the unconscious instruments of a tendency which is as old as mankind. But the extremists have not the ear of the people, most of whom are too poor and ignorant to care about politics. The counsel of the extremists is more than counter-weighted by the opinions of enlightened patriots known as the moderates who are wise enough not to want to force things on to some premature climax. "So far as the present time and the immediate future are concerned, the tacit assent of the inarticulate millions and the intelligent appreciation which the majority of Indian thinkers accord to our virtues as well as our weaknesses seem to assure us of an unchallenged continuance of our overlordship in this country." Mr. Blair thinks that the Divine Providence will not suffer the English to remain in India a day longer than it takes them to complete their task of bringing India into line with the other civilised countries of the world.

The late Queen's Proclamation made certain promises which have never been carried out, because the English feared that by fulfilling the same they would only jeopardise their own position and privileges. The verdict of History will be that the English have done a great deal for India; yet they have never been able to satisfy the people. "From our point of view," says the writer, "it is very irritating of the Indians to insist on having their pound of flesh; but if we were in their place, can any one suppose that we should be content with less?" Mr. Blair then suggests that our rulers should take the Proclamation as their starting point, and carry out unswervingly the obligations it imposes, whether those obligations are agreeable to them or not. The writer does not see why there should not be any room for British commercial enterprise in India, if it achieves self-government. Even if it were so,

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Mr. Blair does not find sufficient reason for the English to swerve from the path which they deliberately marked out for themselves long ago.

The movement of *India for the Indians* is not a hateful and diabolical conspiracy against the British but is the logical outcome of a universal instinct which has been nourished by the traditions of the English people. This will bring home to their minds that the English have yet a noble task to perform in India. "It has been a great privilege to begin it," says the writer, but "it will be a greater privilege if we are permitted to conduct it to its final stage. Never mind whether we Britishers win or lose in a monetary sense. If the worst comes to the worst, there is plenty of room elsewhere for our brains and muscles. Let us make up our minds that we will do the right thing by this great country whatever happens to us." What a noble sentiment this!

In conclusion, Mr. Blair thus puts in a plea for sympathy:

"So far I have appealed to the sterner virtues of my countrymen in India. But if they can only be induced to regard this mighty problem in the generous spirit in which our fathers abolished slavery in the West Indies and put an end to class restrictions and disabilities in Britain, they will not halt there. They will feel themselves drawn to the noble men and women who are re-moulding the conditions of Indian life and thought and laying the foundations of the Indian nation of the future. They will begin to understand and revere their pure and lofty patriotism, and be fired with a generous impulse to share their mighty task. And as each one of us who breaks through the barriers of racial prejudice and self-interest comes out into the sunlight of this great national awakening he is doubly blessed. There is that about a great movement which tones us up to something of its own greatness if we are in sympathy with it. That is the first of the benefits that accrue to us. But the second is even more important, for it is impossible to be caught by the spirit of this movement without endeavouring to assist others to obtain a glimpse of the vision that has flashed on us. In national as in spiritual progress there are three cardinal virtues, and the greatest of these is love. We all love India in a vague way, whether we admit it or not. All I want is to see that love transmuted into practical sympathy for its just and righteous aspirations after nationhood. I feel convinced that India has a grand future in store for her, and we may have a share in that future if, but only if, we deal justly and wisely with the problems which are being thrust upon us at this most critical time."

EXTREMIST POLITICS

The April number of the *Modern Review* contains two excellent articles dealing with the so-called "Forward Political Party" in India. One of the articles is from the forcible pen of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani than whom a better informed man it is difficult to find among the younger politicians of India. We are told at the very outset:

It can not be under God's merciful providence that the well-meant labours of so many good men and true in the disinterested service of the Motherland will go for nought. The faith that is in every convinced believer in the existence of a kindly Father, benignantly watching over and blessing all honest work un-

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selfishly done in the service of humanity, revolts against the thought that there is no glorious future for our holy Motherland. The new spirit of the people is, therefore, something to rejoice over.

Speaking of the extremists, the writer says he cannot dignify them 'by the name of a new school of thought.' In the language of the late Mr. Ranade, Mr. Chintamani says that people have 'chosen to accept British rule as a permanent and accomplished fact' and 'that in the opinion of the vast majority of educated Indians, the future progress of the country is possible under the ægis of British rule alone.' He is, however, not at all satisfied with the present state of political affairs in India. The exclusive and unnatural alien domination must not be suffered to continue much longer. * According to the writer, the path to be trodden by Indians in reaching the goal of self-government is undoubtedly the high road of constitutional agitation which he is not prepared to regard as political mendicancy.

The ideal of the extremists, says the writer, 'is to do absolutely without British rule.' One of their leaders is reported to have declared that even anarchy is to be preferred to the continuance of the present foreign rule. To realise this ideal they propose the boycott of foreign goods, of all paid and honorary offices under Government, and of the Indian Universities; the formation of trade unions and the promotion of strikes. In a word obstruction is their method. The writer considers that there is absolutely no chance of the boycott movement being successful at present, and states, in this connection, for the edification of the extremists, that after eighteen months of agitation, with patriotism at fever-heat, 'India imports a larger quantity of cotton goods and of sugar, the two articles against which the boycott is principally directed' The boycott of paid and honorary offices under Government is disposed of as being impracticable. The writer's advice to us is to build up the strength of the nation and increase the public-spiritedness of the people first; when this is done, it will be time to come forward with proposals of wholesale boycott. In the matter of strikes and trade-unions, Mr. Chintamani is of opinion that the majority of educated Indians have not yet become so capable as to usefully preach and promote these methods. The writer argues the question thus :

The two weakest links in the chain are our incapacity and our disunion. With patriotism unknown to, and unrecognised as a virtue by, perhaps, 99,999 people out of a lakh; with education so little spread; with the ideas and ideals of the people so time-worn and anachronistic; with so many racial and provincial differences still luxuriantly thriving; with the almost entire womanhood living in a world apart, as it were; with six crores of low castes not recognised as a part of the body-politic; with the myriad castes and sub-castes into which the

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Hindus are divided ; and with the almost hope-killing Hindu-Mahomedan problem clogging the wheels of progress at every step—one must indeed have more of bigoted faith in the infallibility of oneself and the magic effect of one's own nostrums than a capacity for observing and thinking aright to confidently recommend for adoption by the country, the political ideal and the political methods of the new faction in Indian public life. Let the self-sufficient and self-willed members of this new party cease to be overpowered by the beauty of their doctrines and think a while like rational beings, and they will yet receive the unwisdom of their ways.

The second article referred to is contributed by no less distinguished a person than Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar of the Central Provinces. It is an unconscionably long paper but full of mature judgment and sound practicable suggestions. Finding that the appeals made to the middle-aged and the old have achieved little success, the extremists have now applied themselves to the task of capturing the youthful generation with a view of employing them against the old workers. Mr. Mudholkar conclusively shows that the principles *now* professed by the 'Forward' school do not differ materially from those which the Congress workers have for years been proclaiming. The extremist leaders are advocating methods and doing acts the only object of which can be to bring about a cleavage in the Liberal party. Language which transgresses the limits of civility and decency is employed not merely by irresponsible followers but by the proclaimed leaders of this party towards men some of whom can show a record of permanent and valuable services such as none of their assailants can. In the India of today there is no room for parties *among the ranks of the Liberals*.

The extremists imperil the national welfare and progress when they say that 'morality has no place in politics.' It was a most pitiable and sorry exhibition of partisanship when, after the close of the last session of the Congress, the members of the 'Forward' school raised a paen of victory in the press and went about stumping the country and proclaiming that their party had triumphed over the moderates. The writer discusses at length some of the most important resolutions adopted by the last Congress and refers to the most objectionable, illogical and foolish views which the extremists attributed to the moderates in that connection. We are then treated to some very telling quotations from the speeches and writings of Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde from which we find that both of these two gentlemen were quite recently more moderate in their views than any of the moderates of to-day. Mr. Khaparde of the 22nd April, 1905, is as wide apart from Mr. Khaparde of the same day in 1906 as the asymptotes of a hyperbola and we are really struck with amazement how a ripe old gentleman of culture and education can change his political opinion with the same

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facility with which 'a man casts off one suit and puts on another.' It is a pleasant thing to see Messrs Tilak and Khaparde paid back in their own coins.

Mr. Mudholkar is of opinion that the extremists have done nothing in the direction of carrying out ideas in practice and in fact their ideas are impossible. He is not prepared to accept the general industrial boycott as a political weapon. In a postscript Mr. Mudholkar adds the following wise advice :

In the presence of these stupendous difficulties let us not have a new source of dissension. The hope of India lies in the wisdom of her best sons. The truly patriotic non-official Indians are in the Congress camp. For the sake of the motherland let them not be divided into Forwards and Laggards or Extremists and Moderates. It can only be by their combined exertions that class jealousies will be suppressed, that class distrust will be uprooted. It will be only when by a complete and thorough union they make their power felt in society that self-seeking mediocrities, high-born nonentities and unscrupulous trimmers will be weeded out of public life. It will be only when these two things are accomplished that we shall have reached the first milestone on the path of our political progress.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT'S POLITICAL DICTA.

In an exceedingly well written paper in the March number of the *Modern Review*, the Editor discusses the political dicta of Mrs. Annie Besant. The first *dictum* discussed is that "English democracy cannot be planted in India." About this, in the first place, our writer says that, as in Japan, so in India

"*Swaraj* does not mean an attempt to plant "English democracy" in India, it means the human right of Indian democracy to find self-expression in its own country and amongst its own people in its own way."

He next goes on to discuss the other aspect of the question, viz whether democracy is entirely foreign to the genius of our nation and says,

"India has been from ancient times immensely more skilled in the mode and habit of democratic self-government than England has ever cared to know or believe."

In illustration of this, he points to our village communities, our caste panchayets and biradaris, and even to our undivided Hindu famiy

"In one sense, the causes of dissension and the difficulty of preserving unity are greater in the home than in the city, greater in the city than in the nation; for with enlarging area, impersonal considerations become increasingly determinative. To a people, therefore, who are accustomed to this democratic self-government in the most difficult of all spheres, viz., the home or the family, the work of running the country, as our friends the Americans would put it, would not be a very difficult affair. The only difficulty in India he says has been that the people have not realised the all-of-the-country, so to speak, as the proper function of the all-of-the-people. It is because India has been so profoundly democratic in her separate or individual social units, that she has in the past manifested so little

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power of resistance and so little political acumen. This is a fault which at present, however, bids fair to be corrected, and once really corrected, under such conditions, will remain so for all time."

As in the social so in the political sphere, the writer ably points to significant instances of democratic sentiments and institutions in the past history of India. In the abandoning of Sita by Rama, in the acquiescence of Dushyanta to popular opinion, in Yayati's appeal to his people to sanction the accession of people and in the installation of Yudhisthira there are instances of effective popular opinion which is not to be met with in Modern India under the "liberty-loving" British rule.

But in ancient India there was not only this spirit but also the form of democracy. In support of this the writer quotes Dr. Hoernle's description of the constitution of Vaisali. This is a solitary instance, says the writer, but more may yet be discovered. We think the writer might have pertinently pointed to the wonderful organisations of municipal and political autonomy whose records have been preserved in the Greek accounts of Asoka's government which have been so beautifully summarised by Mr. Vincent A. Smith in his *Early History of India*.

More than the historical untruth of the proposition is its logical fallacy

"On abstract grounds also we take exception to the statement that India, or for that matter, any country, is not fit for any popular system of Government. No doubt everywhere it has been and is a question of training. And this training can be given to any nation. Were all countries where democracy now prevails fitted for democracy from the beginning of time? Did not the divine right of Kings,—even to misgovern,—claim a large number, if not the majority, of Englishmen as its followers, in England itself? Was Japan considered by foreigners fit for democracy half a century ago? Was Persia considered fit a year ago? Is China now considered fit? Through it must be so considered, by the logic of facts, as soon as it gets a constitution."

The next principle that comes in for consideration is that "the Congress is trying to introduce a foreign system and it won't work." A sufficient answer to this is the fact that it has been at work and is working successfully—with complete unanimity.

The third dictum is, "The Viceroy of India should be a Prince of the Royal House * * India should have her loyalty stirred by one who 'comes of the Emperor's stock.'" On this, the writer says a nation owes its loyalty only to its own past and not to dynasty or dynasties.

Many of India's best rulers, Asoka and Akbar for example, either did not belong to the royal caste, or did not belong to a dynasty royal or Indian in its origin. But India was loyal to them, because they were loyal to their best selves and to *dharma* or righteousness.

India's greatest grievance is absentee sovereigns.

The writer concludes his remarks with the following home

thrusts which, we hope, will have effect on some of our candid friends. "We donot understand," he says,

"Why foreigners honour us with suggestions of new-fangled means for stirring our loyalty, in the presence of such good old-fashioned loyalty-stimulants, as the provision for sparing us the labour and burden of carrying arms so mercifully mad in the Arms Act, the protection of Indians from the risk involved in commanding even small bodies of soldiers by keeping them at arm's length from the commissioned ranks of the Indian army, the relieving of Indians of the burden of administration in the higher ranks, the making it easy for them to take to the high life of *Sannyasins* by rendering it almost natural for them to take and keep the vow of poverty, as so little of filthy lucre is allowed to remain in India."

M. G. RANADE

The April number of the *Indian Review* publishes a readable biographical account of the late Mr. Ranade. He was descended from a Mahratra family, members of which had served from generation to generation in one capacity or another in the Peshwa's Court. His great-grandfather, Apaji Pant, represented the Sangli State at Poona. His grand-father, Amrita Rao, was a *Mamlatdar* in the Poona district, and his father was Head Clerk to the *Mamlatdar* of Niphad in the Nasik district. He thus belonged to the great middle class.

Ranade was born at Niphad on the 18th of January, 1842. He joined the high school at Kolhapur in 1851 and studied there till 1856. Then he joined the Elphinstone Institution. His special leanings were towards History and Political Economy. But he did not confine himself to these studies. He read largely books on Science, Philosophy, Drama and various other subjects. He was not known to be as diligent a student of English poetry as his friend Telang was. He knew Shakespeare and Scott, but it was the broad humanity of these writers rather than the poetry and romance that attracted him. His diligent college career was crowned by brilliant academic distinction. He gained his First Division in his B. A. Examination of 1862; received the congratulation of Sir Bartle Frere in the convocation of 1863; proceeded in 1865 to his M. A. degree, received the gold medal for History and became a Fellow of the University in 1865. Next year he passed the L. L. B. Examination with Honours. His official career began with his appointment as Mahratti Translator in the Educational Department. He served as a judicial officer in his own State of Kolhapur, prior to his being appointed as Professor of English in the Elphinstone College. This appointment he subsequently gave up for law.

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Talented and hard-working as he was, it is no matter for surprise that he advanced steadily in his professional career ; that he filled successively the position of Reporter to the High Court, Subordinate Judge, Presidency Magistrate, Judge of the Poona Small Cause Court, special Judge under the Agriculturists' Relief Act ; and that he finally became Judge of the High Court—the *ne plus ultra* of the ambition of all educated citizens of India.

But the official activities of Ranade were the least of his achievements. He was the inspirer, the guide, philosopher and friend of all active workers for the good of the country. The principal promoter of the *Sarnajanik Sabha*, a prominent member of the *Prarthana Samaj*, the General Secretary of the Indian Social Conference, a prominent member and administrator of the Bombay Senate, Ranade showed that he fully realised the duties pertaining to men of his talents and position. His tongue and his pen, his time and his purse, he was ready to devote to all causes that made for the good of his country.

In the matter of political and economic improvement, Ranade was for proceeding on the safe road of gradual evolution. In religious reform, too, he shows the same sense of historic continuity. A pride in the achievement of the Indian intellect and an abiding faith in the destiny of India animated Ranade's best efforts. Though Ranade recognised the preciousness of unmaterial good, he realised that the advance of India was impossible without attention to the economic needs of the country. Society with him was an organism, and to effect any reform, there was need of a historical study of the origin of all good and evil. He was of opinion that having regard to the defects of the Hindu character, there was no ground for any 'hope of seeing any genuine reform movement springing up from within the heart of the nation, unless that heart is regenerated, not by cold calculations of utility, but by the cleansing fire of a religious revival.' Ever since the theistic movement was started in Western India, Ranade attached himself to it and actively promoted the cause. About his towering intellectual pre-eminence, his enormous industry, his steady pursuit of what appeared to him to be good ends, his selfless devotion to the cause he had at heart, his simplicity of habits and demeanour, his indomitable hopefulness and his robust optimism, there are no differences of opinion. About his moral fervour and his piety in the best sense of the term there is no question. His closest friends and acquaintances used to call him a *Rishi*. Amid the paraphernalia of worldly 'gauds,' there was within him a hidden ground of thought and of austerity.

THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK

Ranade must have lived in vain if to his countrymen his life and his bequest were not to prove as a living inspiration.

The sixth instalment of Mr. Manohar Lal Zutshi's scholarly paper on *Hindu Protestantism*, as published in the March number of the *Hindustan Review*, deals with the part played by the late Mr. Ranade in the matter of Social Reform in India. The name of Mr. Ranade, says the writer, is indissolubly connected with the movement of Social Reform. He was one of those few, very few, men of modern India to whom the title of a *thinker* can be applied. A deep unshakable faith in an over-ruling Providence sustained Ranade throughout his life in the midst of many failures and disappointments. He lived strictly up to his principles and was the very embodiment of forbearance, charity and generosity. The learned writer in the *Hindustan Review* justly styles him the "last great leader of Hindu Protestantism."

THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK

In the March number of the *Modern Review* Mr. Lajpat Rai discusses with his characteristic boldness and frankness the political outlook of the Indian nation.

"There is one set of facts," he says "which, when considered exclusively, would make us hopeless pessimists. There is another set of facts which, when taken by themselves, may furnish good ground for the most sanguine optimism."

Both these attitudes have their justification and their shortcomings.

"We have so long been in doubt about ourselves, about the world and about the good in the world that it is time to exchange this latter attitude of mind for confidence in self, confidence in our people, and hope for a better future, which may give us better opportunities to use and enjoy the good and the beautiful in the world."

At the same time, it is bad policy to ignore the difficulties in our path in the plenitude of good spirits. The writer therefore proposes to take stock of our difficulties, and, "coming to our difficulties," he says,

"In my opinion the foremost place amongst them must be given to our want of faith in ourselves, to the scepticism that is the ruling doctrine of our life, to the habit of too close an analysis which paralyses both action and thought.

"Our whole life from top to bottom" "smacks of fear, deadly fear of losing pence and pies, fear of losing in the estimation of those whom we in our heart of hearts believe to be only usurpers; fear of losing the sunshine of the smile of those whom we believe to be day and night engaged in the exploitation of our country and the spoliation of our people, fear of offending the false gods that have by fraud or force taken possession of our bodies and souls; fear of being shut up in a dungeon or prison house, as if the freedom that we enjoy, is not by its own nature, one to be abhorred, despised and hated,—a freedom by default or by sufferance."

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The great work by sufferance before us, therefore, is to infuse into our public life "that power of faith and will which will neither count obstacle nor measure time."

"In my opinion the problem before us is, in the main, a religious problem—religious not in the sense of doctrines and dogmas—but religious in so far as to evoke the highest devotion and the greatest sacrifice from us. Our first want, then, is to raise our patriotism to the level of religion and to aspire to live or to die for it."

We have to take the opposition of the Government as a first postulate of political life. This opposition may be either by way of terrorism or by means of small concessions. The former is bound to fail but, in the latter, "probably lies a greater danger to the rapid growth of the idea of nationality in the country than in a system of repression."

But what the writer fears most

"is the opposition from within, the opposition of the classes enjoying the special patronage of the Government, the opposition of interest, the opposition of privilege, and last but not the least, the opposition of timidity and cowardice."

To the above may be added the opposition of those easy-going do-nothings who "insist to be of you and with you, but whose heart is not with you and whose interests, as understood by them, tie the other way."

The political workers have therefore to be purged of this element and political life raised to a higher level. The best way to do this and indeed,

"The first necessity of the situation is, therefore, the coming forward of a number of whole time workers in each province, devoted to the work of giving political education and imparting right ideas, irrespective and regardless of the scoffer and the cynic"—"men who will win over the masses to the cause of Truth and Justice by words of wisdom and lives of service."

Whether with Mr. Dadabhai we seek to agitate in the right spirit—that is, as an educational duty, regardless of success,—or we seek to make Government impossible on the lines of Mr. Tilak's policy, it can only be made by training the people to a habit of suffering for principles. This can only be taught by example and not precept. The great need, therefore, is of a band of honest and sincere whole time workers, who would be a sort of political sannyasins. Political life hitherto has been conducted on very slipshod methods, and there is a great element of truth in the following question which Mr. Lajpat Rai asks to our political leaders :

"If I may be permitted to question the political leaders of the country, what irresistible proofs have they up to this time given of their earnestness for the political demands made by them? If the time was not and is not ripe for these proofs, then why did they not follow the Japanese in making quiet preparations at home before coming out openly with fiery speeches and long-winded resolutions? If however, we have not wasted 22 years on political agitation and if the Swadeshi and Boycott are not lip-platitudes to be indulged in for the edification of our audiences, let us now take to it seriously and give incontestable proofs of our earnestness for political privileges."

These words and most of the sentences quoted above have almost a prophetic ring about them, in view of the savage arrest of the writer under a *lettre-de-cachet*.

Mr. Rai then discusses the evil of denominationalism and division that splits our nation, and which, in the opinion of some, makes self-government impossible. The evil, says the writer, is exaggerated. To the work of uprooting denominationalism he is entirely sympathetic, but, says he,

"I can not persuade myself to believe that it is possible to uproot denominationalism from this land and for the matter of that, from any land. Our best efforts should then be directed to create a nation in spite of them."

"The chief object of human yearning is, has been, and ought to be, to find harmony in diversity. Nations are built and unified by the differences that exist between the various classes of their population. The Apostle of Unity in order to succeed must find a common object to achieve and a common enemy to fight. All differences must be sunk in the presence of the latter and to achieve the formed but not necessarily otherwise."

He brushes aside the objection based on the ignorance of our people. "The educational work is one of the most important of our national duties but by no means should it be made a condition precedent to our demanding self-government."

That may be so, but what we fail to understand is how the people are to be taught to suffer for principles without education. It may not be possible for an alien government to educate the masses effectually, but there is an immense scope for the application of our national energies in that direction—a work that is sadly and systematically neglected by our political workers. National education may not be a condition-precedent to our *demanding* self-governments, but it is essential for *national advancement*.

The only fault we have to find with Mr. Lajpat Rai is that, though he proposes to hold the balance even between all parties and show the defects and shortcomings of each, he fails to bring out the untold mischief wrought by irresponsible scribes and "orators" who are inspiring the people with impossible hopes of an immediate independence. The disappointment that must ensue is bound to throw back our progress by centuries.

' SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

AN IRISH VIEW OF THE INDIAN CONGRESS

The *Freeman's Journal* in its issue of January 17 comments on the attempts that is at present being made in India to divide the Nationalists of that country.

"A certain section of the Mahomedans have been induced, as so many Irishmen were induced in the days of Elizabeth and since, to start a movement against the National leaders. In India the National leaders are the men at the head of the National Congress. The Congress has been held annually for very nearly twenty years, and had been presided over by some of the most distinguished Indian patriots. In his address to the delegates, Mr. Naoroji boldly stated that what the people of India, while not desiring to separate themselves from the connexion with England, needed and demanded, was a measure of Home Rule which would enable the country to be ruled by Native opinion, and not by the opinion of young gentlemen imported from a foreign country who knew nothing about the Indian people, or their history and ideals. That was always the position of the Congress since its first institution. It was essentially a constitutional organisation. For a long time it was merely sneered at by the British bureaucracy which lives so splendidly on the money of the Indian rayat. In the course of time, however, it would seem that the men at the head of the Indian National Movement were by no means faddists or fanatics, but the very best specimens of the educated portion of the population of Hindustan, many of them graduates of English and other Universities, and the great majority of them the acknowledged leaders of public opinion in the country. The agitation for national rights became so strong that, a number of years ago, some of its claims were acknowledged by the Government, and some slight representation in the governing bodies was conceded. They were so small, however, that the Indian patriots refused to accept them as any fulfilment of their demands. They went on as before, asserting their right to govern themselves, and the Viceroy and his Council went on pretending to ignore them. But year by year the Indian National Congress was growing, both in numerical and in moral strength. It was gradually being seen by the British officials that it had the nation at its back.

IRISH VIEW OF THE INDIAN CONGRESS

“What was to be done? The ~~same~~ old trick was tried that has been so often tried in Ireland, and “the Queen’s O’ Reilly” and the “Queen’s O’Neill” were made full use of in order to make it appear that the National Congress only represented an unrepresentative section of the people. Well, read this from the Calcutta correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writing the day after the great meeting: “Whatever may be urged against the Congress, it cannot be alleged that it belongs to one race or one religion. . . . The Congress is a compendium of India. Twelve thousand delegates, he says, were present. How absurd it seems for the English Government to pretend that a small body of Mahomedans who have been wire-pulled could for a moment be regarded as a rival organisation to such as this. Mr. Morley, at least, can hardly take such a view. But a more sinister development has taken place than that of the Mahomedan Convention. A party has grown up which assumes to be more patriotic than the Congress and its leaders. Its views are *extreme* and it does not approve of Mr. Naoroji and his friends. Here again we see Irish history, under British rule, repeated. There is no party in India that can possibly do any substantial service to the national cause there except the National Congress party. It has made Indian Nationalism, and while other parties were coming into existence and dying out of existence, it remained as the one solid and permanent patriotic body in the Peninsula. And so it is now, as it always was. And Ireland has naturally a deep interest in its fortunes, not only because one of her most honoured citizens, Mr. Alfred Webb, has been a Chairman of the Indian National Congress, but because the Congress represents just the same principle of national right for which Ireland, like India, has been struggling so long.”

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Modern Review

The April number of the *Modern Review* is not up to the mark. Excepting the two articles on *Extremist Politics* summarised in a different section of our present issue, there are very few readable papers in the number under notice. Sister Nivedita's *Glimpses of Famine and Flood in East Bengal in 1906* give us an extremely gruesome picture. Dr. Satis Chandra Bannerji's *Law as a Profession* is likely to stimulate the energies of young legal practitioners and inspire them with right principles of conduct and advocacy. Dr. A. Mitra briefly surveys the recent triumphs of the science of medicine in diagnostic and therapeutic lines, and deals particularly with Lord Lister's discovery of antiseptic surgery. The Editor has a sketch of *The Andamanese* which is copiously illustrated and a paper on the last Census Report under the rather sensational heading of *Decrease of Hindus*. *The Folk-tales of Hindustan*, *Life of Sivaji* and the *Study of Natural Science in the Indian Universities* are all serial papers continued from previous issues. *The Three Forms of Art* is an indifferent rendering of a Bengalee paper read by the officiating Principal of the Government School of Art of Calcutta to his students and discusses the Japanese, the Greek and the Indian schools. The other three papers are *Nadir Shah at Delhi* by Mr. P. V. Mawjee, *The Vedic Fathers* by Mr. A. C. Sen and *Mata Bharata* by Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy of Ceylon. The Editorial Notes sweep a very large area, ranging from 'The Kingston Incident' to 'Buying up a People's Food.' Most of the illustrations are reproduced from the Bengalee monthly, *The Prabasi*.

The Hindustan Review

Mr. A. J. Fraser Blair of the *Empire* read an able and sympathetic paper entitled *If There Were another Mutiny* before a meeting in Calcutta some time ago. This paper, an abstract of which will be found elsewhere, has been reproduced as the leading article in the March number of the *Hindustan Review*. The lecture on *Weaving in India* recently delivered at the South Indian Association, Madras, by Mr. Alfred Chatterton, who is certainly an

REVIEW OF INDIAN REVIEWS

authority on the subject of his discourse is also reproduced, as the second article in the number under notice. Mr. Alfred Nundy contributes an excellent survey of the life and the life-work of the late Mr. Kali Churn Banurji. 'It will remain an everlasting reproach to all Congressmen,' says Mr. Nundy, 'that they allowed such a man to breathe his last without electing him as president of the Congress.' The sixth instalment of Mr. Manoharlal Zutshi's serial paper on *Hindu Protestantism*, dealing with the greatness of the late Mr. Ranade, is also noticed, though scantily, elsewhere in these pages. Raja Prithwipal Singh dilates ably upon the *Social Gulf between Indians and Europeans*. 'Barhaspatya' says his *Last Words* in reference to Pandit Sudhakar Dirvedi's criticism of his serial articles on the *Jyotish Vedanga*. Mr. Mahes Chandra Sinha raises a *Discussion on Caste and Foreign Travel*. The Section on *Reviews and Notices* contains an interesting account of *The English Press in India in 1906*. The Editorial Notes under the heading of the *Last Month* deals with Mr. Gokhale's tour in Upper India and sundry topics. The number closes as usual with some notes of interest to the *Kayastha* community.

The Indian Review

Famine is again reported in the two great countries of China and Russia. The rest of the world ought to adopt measures of relief for these two suffering countries. In acts of humanity like this, 'India should lead the way for every reason.' This is the sum and substance of the leading article in the March number of the *Indian Review* contributed by Capt. J. W. Petavel. Mr. S. Z. Ali has an article on *Afghanistan—Past and Present*. Rao Bahadur V. J. Kirtikar points out *Some Aspects of Religious Reform* and Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, B.A., makes some admirable suggestions with regard to the *Constructive Political Work of the Congress*. Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao has an excellent paper advocating *The Formation of a Middle Class in India*. The Presidential address, giving a scholarly account of *The Palavas*, delivered by Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya before the South Indian Association is next reproduced. An 'Englishman' has an article on *Jewellery of To-day in Southern India and in England* followed by a sketchy account of *The Amir's Tour in India*. *The Channel Tunnel* by an 'Englishman' is the last article in the number under notice which closes with some useful notes on *Current Events*, *The World of Books*, *Topics from Periodicals* and *Questions of Importance*.

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The Mysore Review

The March number opens with a nice critical review by Mr. Devendranath Sen of a certain Bengali publication. Mr. A. Raghavendra Rao contributes the second instalment of his article on *Purnapragna Darsana*. The article on *Agriculture* contributed by Mr. S. Krisnaswamiengar has nothing to do with India. Mr. William G. Minezes has a dialogue on *The Black Suit*, the scene of action lying in Madras. Madame S. Parakutty describes some highly interesting *Scenes from Modern India*. Mr. Ramanujan has a translation of some chapters of a well-written 'Bengali Romance' entitled *Kohinoor* which seems to have been written on historical basis. The couple of poems on *Sin* and *The White Horse* composed by Mr. Devendranath Sen are the last noticeable items in the number under notice.

DIARY

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FOR THE MONTHS OF FEBRUARY & MARCH

1907

Date.

FEBRUARY

2. A smart shock of earthquake is felt at Simla.
4. The Bombay Corporation commences a systematic attack on rats this afternoon.
5. H. M. the Amir visits the Congress Exhibition in Calcutta.
6. Mr. Kali Churn Banurji, one of the most popular leaders of Bengal and President of the Indian Association of Calcutta, dies in the afternoon.
7. Lord Lamington presides at the important annual meeting of the Bombay Sanitary Association.
9. Mr. Gokhale addresses a vast meeting at Lucknow on the Hindu-Mahomedan problem.
12. In opening Parliament, H. M. Edward VII says that while firmly guarding the strength and unity of the executive power unimpaired, he looks forward to a steadfast effort being made to provide means of widening the base of peace, order and good government among the vast population committed to his charge.
15. Messrs Jaswant Rai and Athavale of the *Punjabee* were sentenced respectively to 2 years' and 6 months' imprisonment with fines under Sec. 153 A of the I. P. C.
16. The Jain Conference meets at Ahmedabad on the old site of the Congress Pandal.
17. H. M. the Amir visits Poona.
21. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta is defeated by the caucus of Justices in the election of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.
24. Mr. Gokhale delivers a remarkable *Svadeshi* speech at Agra.
25. Mr. Morley states in the Commons that no alteration would be made in the existing system of Judicial and Executive functions in India without the full consideration of the Government of India.
26. The students of the Aligarh College state in a telegram to the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces that the present situation in the college has absolutely no political aspect.
27. Mr. Morley states in the House of Commons that he is sceptical of the existence of general unrest in India.

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MARCH

1. The closing ceremony of the Calcutta Congress Exhibition is presided over by the Maharaja of Durbhanga.

2. An epidemic of wrecking-Railway trains is reported from Burma.

4. Nawab Salimollah of Dacca arrives at Comillah where Hindus are ruthlessly beaten by a Mahomedan mob.

5. The silver Jubilee of H. H. the Gaekwar is celebrated at Baroda. Comillah is reported to be in a state of anarchy.

6. A serious street fight takes place between Hindus and Mahometans at Comillah when a Mahometan is shot down dead.

7. T. R. H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught arrive in Calcutta. H. M. the Amir leaves the Indian soil.

9. Reinforcements proceed to Comillah where matters continue to be serious.

11. Prince Ranjitsinghji is installed as the Jam of Jamnagar.

12. A deputation of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce waits upon Mr. Morley to urge him to grant an increase of rolling stock in India. The Hindu and Mahomedan leaders in Comilla settle their misunderstanding and make friends again.

17. The Bombay Government issues an important resolution laying down an automatic scale of suspensions and remissions in famine years.

18. Mr. Morley refuses the sanction of the proposed scientific expedition to Mt. Everest.

19. Four thousand employers of the Maneckji Petit Mill go on strike.

20. The Indian Budget is introduced in the Supreme Legislative Council. The Salt Tax is still further reduced.

27. The Budget is discussed in the Supreme Legislative Council.

In a brilliant speech, Dr. Rash Behary Ghose pleads for the separation of judicial and executive functions. The Viceroy promises some reforms and concessions.

29-31. A large number of political, social and industrial Conferences meet in various parts of India,—at Berhampore, Allahabad, Surat, and at Raipur in the C. P.

Reflections on Men and Things

By the Editor

France lay prostrate and quiet during the middle of the eighteenth century when the House of Bourbons was maintaining its undiminished glory and its unrivalled influence in the continent of Europe. Louis XIV thought his throne too strong to be shaken, and in that confidence he oppressed his people as much as he pleased. His ministers recked not the signs of the times and went on in their mad career of *hauteur* and wrong-doing. But before the century went round, monarchy was thrown over in France like a child's toy, and the sins of Louis XIV were visited with vengeance upon his innocent and helpless grandson.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END? The beginnings of the French Revolution, the beginning of the end of the House of Bourbon, were scarcely felt and recognised by more than a few far-seeing statesmen in Europe even during the imbecile reign of Louis XV. When the *thing* had actually commenced, even then Louis XVI would not recognise its import, and he was sharply told by a favourite courtier that what were happening around were not the signs of a 'revolt' but of a 'revolution.' The king *awakened* to the situation *too late* for a remedy.

India, though very much unlike France, has recently been showing signs of a life too clear to be mistaken and yet the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy would see them not. The Britisher may find it convenient to ignore them, and like the ostrich may bury his head under the sand before a coming storm. But that sort of wisdom never pays—at any rate the history of France and of the American Revolution has clearly demonstrated that it does *not*.

Will the wisdom of the ostrich or arrests under *lettres decachet* save the situation in India? That's a question of paramount interest to the Indians as well as to the birds of passage who come out to this country to make hay while the sun shines and shake the pagoda tree.

It has been proclaimed a hundred times by responsible politicians and statesmen of England from the floor of the House of Commons that British rule in India rests on the eternal principles of justice and righteousness—'moral verities,' as Lord Curzon once put them in India. Discussing in our January issue the gains and losses of British rule in India, we had occasion to point out that the

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blessing which the Indian counts as the most valuable is the sense of security and of peace which the *pax Britannica* has conferred upon this country.

So, it is a policy of justice and righteousness together with a sense of security of life and property on the part of the Indians upon which the unchallenged continuance of British overlordship in this country mainly depends. But unfortunately, both for India and for England, the principles of justice and righteousness have ceased to guide the administration of India since the day when Lord Ripon threw down the reins of his office and they were finally laid aside for good when a notorious pro-Consul interpreted one of the most valued charters of the people's rights in 'a mean and pettifogging spirit.' Justice and righteousness have been cast to the winds—sometimes most flagrantly—by a succession of Indian Viceroys through a long series of legislative measures and administrative steps, and there is not a single educated man in India who believes to-day in the professions of British statesmen and in the sincerity of their policy.

Speaking of British Rule in India in June last year, we said :—

"That was an unhappy day for India,—when Lord Dufferin broke away with the educated Indians and cried them down in a postprandial oration in the Town Hall in Calcutta. Since that moment, the pendulum of administrative policy has violently swung back, and over the portals of the Government of India and all the Provincial Governments the word 'Prestige' is now to be found writ large where 'Righteousness' was inscribed before. Distrust of the Indians has been the key-note of the administration all this time and repression the order of the day with the white Brahmins of India. The long series of administrative, executive and legislative measures which have been taken and passed in pursuance of a policy of reaction and repression since the close of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty have gone a great way to shake the confidence of the people in British justice, law and righteousness. The recommendations of the Indian public Service Commission have been deliberately set at naught, the beneficent spirit of the Queen's Proclamation has been disregarded, the Resolution of the House of Commons on the simultaneous examination of the Indian Civil Service in England and in this country has been ignored, the administration of criminal justice has been interfered with by the promulgation of such a principle as 'no conviction, no promotion,' the High Court have been sought to be terrorised by the heads of Governments a system of vexatious espionage and shadowing of all public men has

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

been introduced, the princes and the zemindars have been set against the educated men and Mahometans against Hindus, people have been sent to prison without any charge being preferred against them, whole communities have been persecuted for treason on the reports of ordinary policemen, the separation of judicial and executive functions has been stoutly resisted, the meshes of the sedition clause of the Indian Penal Code have been made wide enough to get hold of all the irreconcilables in the country, the liberties of the Press have been restricted, an Act has been passed to penalise the leakage of 'official secrets,' throwing the onus of proof upon the suspects, the scope of popular representation in the metropolitan municipality has been curtailed, most of the District Boards have been robbed of their independence, the Universities have been officialised, the higher grades of the reconstituted Police Service, along with those of all the other minor public services, have been shut against all Indians, the Indian Chiefs have been reduced from allies of the Sovereign to vassals of the State, their freedom of travel has been brought within the discretionary jurisdiction of the Foreign Office, they were even denied the courtesy of a return visit from the Viceroy at the great pageant at Delhi, the native soldiers have been kept out from the commissioned ranks in the army and all careers of honourable usefulness have been closed against them, a counter vailing excise duty has been imposed upon all cotton fabrics manufactured in the power-mills of India, the native peasant has had the right of alienating his land taken out from him in one or two provinces, a heavy indirect taxation has been imposed upon the agricultural population by closing the Indian mints against the free coinage of silver, a jingo show of imperial pomp has been bossed by a superior pro-Consul at the expense of a starving population, the character and classics of the Indian people have been traduced, the 'articulate' opinion of the educated people has been systematically flouted, the province of Bengal has been dismembered, a crusade has been raised against the cry of *Bande Mataram* and, above everything, a harmless and inoffensive public meeting has been dispersed on the flimsiest of all pretexts at a time when the profoundest peace has prevailed in the country. This is a long enough catalogue of blunders to put the *sufferance* of any people in the world to the *severest* strain. Not that no beneficent steps have been taken by the British in India all this time—popular representation has been partially introduced into the Councils of the Empire, famine has been humanely combated, irrigation has been widely extended, the salt-tax has been reduced, and all ancient buildings

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have been conserved and renovated at State expense—but the good done is overlooked and it is only the *wrongs* that men generally brood over and want to be revenged upon. After having goaded a people to disaffection and shaken their ‘respect for, and confidence in, the law,’ there is no good regretting their *unwillingness to let you govern them by their sufferance any more.*”

That is so far as the sincerity of British policy and the principles of justice and righteousness are concerned.

Now, a few words as to the sense of security and of peace to which we referred at length in our January issue.

Strange things have happened in India since the beginning of this year. The heart of a district headquarters has been invaded and attacked by an infuriated mob, shops and markets have been looted in broad daylight, boats laden with cargo have been intercepted and sunk down the river, houses have been set on fire, places of worship desecrated, idols sacked and mutilated and, above all, women have been carried bodily away from their places and their modesty outraged,—yet the men charged with the task of keeping the peace and order of the country have looked on the situation in a spirit of helplessness and allowed things to drift till the wildest rumours have come to be believed throughout the country. Public meetings have been forbidden and suppressed, processions have been dispersed and prevented to enter civil stations, public peace has been maintained with the aid of siege guns, innocent and unarmed citizens have been arrested with the help of squadrons of cavalry, private houses have been forcibly entered into and boxes and trunks broken open, newspaper editors have been wickedly prosecuted and visited with savage punishment, and complaints against either the negligence or over-activity of the Police have been received with ridicule and contempt—yet the sun-dried tin-gods of Simla have not allowed these events to interfere with their programme of balls, dances and dinners. But what is most surprising and shocking is that, in the twentieth century and under British rule, a hand-bill is being circulated broadcast among the lower-class Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal, containing the following passages, without provoking the indignation of the gods in the hills :—

“Bengali and Indian Mahomedans in the Moffusil are hereby informed that you would without fear and by force marry and convert to your religion unmarried and widowed Bengali Hindu women, except the married ones ; that before such marriage you should not hesitate to oppress the seditious Gundas and beastly Hindu ‘Salas’ ; that Government will not take cognisance of any outrages on their society, religion or chastity ; that if they seek for any other sort of relief, Police will be detailed to help you against the aforesaid Hindu Salas.”

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

While Olympus is enjoying its rest, the people in the plains are finding to their cost how insecure have their life and limb, religion and property, become at the present day. The sense of insecurity is spreading like wildfire throughout the country and has been hundredfold heightened by the extraordinary arrest of Mr. Lajpat Rai under a *lettre de cachet*. As for the *pax Britannica*, it is fast becoming a laughing-stock and bye-word at the present day. Armies of brigands are manœuvring and operating on many Bengal districts and are holding the lives and property of their inhabitants at their mercy—nobody knows whom to look to for protection. An absolute want of confidence in British justice and righteousness followed by a sense of insecurity and disquiet bodes the ultimate doom of British power in the East.

The people, in the meantime, in East Bengal at least, have been thrown upon their mettle and are preparing for,—God only knows what. It now looks simply like a preparation for self-defence, a defence of one's home and hearth,—but who knows that it will for any length of time be confined to internecine purposes only? The cloud today may not be bigger than a man's hand, but who knows it may not spread tomorrow throughout the country and envelop the whole land in darkness and chaos? Mr. Meredith Townsend has aptly compared India to a sleeping volcano, where no man can be sure of the events coming on the morrow.

Is there no statesmanship in the England of today which can read the signs of the times in India aright and prevent the ultimate doom? We may not have yet come to that—the beginning of the end. But if things will go on at this rate,—well, the end will not be 'long in coming.

A very heated discussion has for sometimes been carried on in the pages of certain Indian newspapers and periodicals on the position and programme of the two wings of the Liberal Party in this country which have come to be described by almost common consent as the 'Moderates' and 'Extremists.' It appears that all the 'Moderates' in India are not of one mind nor do all the 'Extremists' belong to the same camp. As it is, there are three schools of 'moderates' and three of 'extremists.' The 'moderates' are divided in this way :—

(1) One class believe in the justice and righteousness of British policy in India and think that the efforts of the people for political advancement should be confined to mere petitions and representa-

THE INDIAN WORLD

tions to the powers that be and in associating themselves with all the movements inaugurated in the country by the officials or the resident Europeans in the country.

(2) The second class equally believe in the justice and righteousness of British policy and, besides approaching the authorities with petitions and representations, are anxious to wrest, by moral suasion and political agitation, some of the powers from the existing bureaucracy and to take part, in an increasingly large measure, in the administration and government of the country.

(3) The third class do *not* believe in British justice and righteousness, though they desire the continuance of British rule in India only for the sake of the peace and security that it has conferred upon the country and for the advantages it affords for our unity and development, and think, that petition or no petition, every desirable right or privilege will have to be wrung out from an alien and unwilling Government by a most active and persistent policy of passive resistance.

Of the above three shades of 'moderate' opinion, the first has its adherents among the landed aristocracy of India, the second among the followers of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer and of Pundit Madanmohan Malaviya. Our Bengal friends, headed by Messrs. Surendranath Banerjea and Bhupendranath Basu, belong to the third. The common ground between these various sections of the 'Moderate' camp is the attachment to the British connection, and the goal of common aspiration is the attainment of *swaraj* within the Empire on Colonial lines. As regards the methods of their work, we have already indicated the points of their difference.

The 'extremists' also, as we have already said, are likewise divided into three sections :—

(1) The first section think that they must have nothing to do with British rule but must develop all their resources according to their own unaided endeavours, in spite of the British.

(2) The second section think that the continuance of British rule is incompatible with our national progress, and that we should *prepare* ourselves for the expulsion of the British from the country, and help ourselves to replace the existing rule as *fast* and as *best* as we can.

(3) The third section are of opinion that the British must be made to clear out of India *at once* and leave us to our *fate*, no matter what.

Of these different opinions, Babu Robindranath Tagore, a distinguished Bengalee poet, and his friends and admirers sub-

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

scribe to the first, the bulk of the educated men in Eastern Bengal, the Punjab and Deccan pin their faith in the second, and the third find prevalence among the immediate followers of 'Srijuts' Bepinchandra Pal, P. Mitter and Company. The common ground between these sections of Indian 'extremists' appears to be an anti-British spirit, and the goal of common aspiration is the attainment of absolute independence. They differ among themselves as to the time when they want the British to go away from India and also as to the methods to be employed in driving them out.

It is evident, from the classification made above, that the immediate object which the 'moderates' are struggling after is *good and popular government* and that for which the 'extremists' are clamouring, for is *independence*. The 'Moderates' take count of the lessons of general history, the circumstances of the country and the process of social and national evolution. The 'Extremists' derive their inspiration from the histories of the world's revolutions and think they can make or unmake history as they please, and all circumstances must conform to their wishes. Whether we can drive the Europeans out of India as we wish is a question which we are neither inclined or tempted to discuss seriously in these pages; but it appears that the extremists in every province think more of their provincial independence than of the independence for the whole of India, as Behar, Assam, Orissa, the Southern Presidency, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces of Agra and Oude have not yet been won over, or been sufficiently canvassed, by the absolute *swarajists* or the *independencers*, and these parts of India seem to be yet far from accepting a programme of a complete freedom for themselves. On the wisdom of an attempt to attain independence now or in the immediate future, we have written so often and given our views so clearly that it would be undesirable to inflict a repetition of our arguments in the present issue. All that we mean to urge against the 'extremist' programme is that it is neither a *practicable* nor a *prudent* one and that it is a programme at least a century too early for the country to appreciate or adopt.

As for the 'Moderates,' the first section have ceased to have much influence with the people. Though the British Indian Association of Calcutta, the Oudh Talukdars' Association of Lucknow, the Behar Landholders' Association of Bankipore and similar other organisations of Hindus and Mahomedans throughout the country still take part in politics and try to do good to their people by the light that is in them, yet the educated Indians in every part of the Empire

THE INDIAN WORLD

have ceased to believe in political swaddling-clothes and outlived the spirit that inspires and breeds timidity. The second section of the 'Moderates,' led by Sir Pherozeshah and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, are also fast getting unpopular, as most of our educated countrymen all throughout India have absolutely ceased to have any faith in British justice or righteousness or to expect any betterment of their condition, as men or citizens, from that quarter. The Mahajana Sabha of Madras, the Sarvajanic Sabha and the Servants of India Society of Poona, the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian Association of Lahore, together with two or three Mahometan Associations run on the same lines, are getting behind time, and do not reflect the opinions of the majority of the educated Indians in the country at the present day. The third section is now the most popular party in the whole land and perhaps also the *sanest*. This party does not believe that any good or substantial concession will ever come to India from English rulers and statesmen, in or out of Parliament, and that we must work out our own salvation on lines of least resistance, taking the fullest advantage of the protection afforded us by our connection with England against foreign aggression and domestic troubles.

It is more than clear that we have already entered into a period of conflict with the British, as the increase of the power of our own people was bound to be followed by the proportionate decrease of British influence and predominance in the country. But this must needs be the situation, and as we advance towards fuller development the conflict must be increasingly keen. The steps for attaining our political salvation must consist of universal education, the development of one common nationality, the recognition of patriotism as a creed of our religion, and the moral, material, industrial and commercial elevation of the Indian people. A strenuous struggle is before us, but nothing should daunt us in pushing onwards. • It is likely that we shall have to wade through bloodshed in reaching the goal—and nowhere on the face of the earth has a fight for constitutional liberty been entirely bloodless. But that time is not yet. In the meantime we must ask all our countrymen to prepare themselves morally, intellectually, physically and industrially for the greater conflict that is coming. The 'Moderates,' who depend upon self-help all along the line, even including self-defence, are bound to carry everything before them and have the making of the future history of India in their hands.

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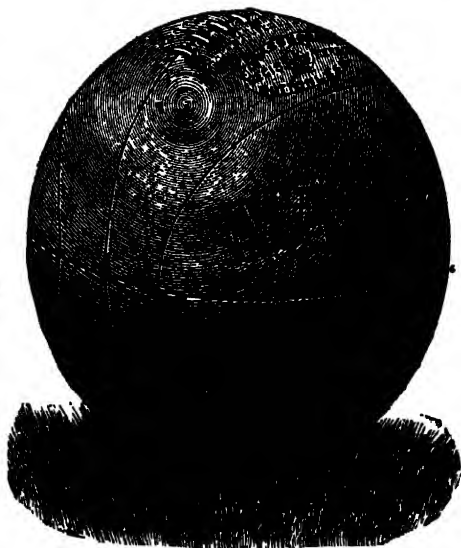
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Padmini Mohan Neogi,
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The Indian World.



Lala Lajpat Rai

THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. V]

MAY, 1907

[No. 26

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA

Dotted in yellow, occupying two-fifths of the land covered by the map of India, some in cluster and some standing out in prominence, lie the Native States of India. These States number as many as 680 and vary in size from being as large as France or Italy and as small as an average Indian village. The subjects of the Nizam alone are more numerous than those of the Queen of Holland, the King of Belgium, the King of Denmark and the King of Portugal taken together.

The Native States of India may be conveniently grouped under fifteen heads :—(1) The Indo-Chinese group of States, and the numerous hill tribes of the North-East Frontier. (2) The aboriginal Gond and Kol tribes under petty princes of aboriginal or Rajput blood, in Chota-Nagpur, Orissa, the Central Provinces and Vizagapatana Agency. (3) The Himalayan Hill States, west of Nepal, including Kashmir. (4) The numerous Afghan and Baluch States. (5) Kalat and Las Bela, with tribal areas in the possession of the Murri and Bugti tribes. (6) The Sikh States south of the Sutlej. (7) The Mahomedan States of Khairpur in Sind, Bahawalpur to the north-east to it and Rampur from which Warren Hastings expelled the Rohillas in 1774. (8) The ancient principalities of Rajputana. (9) The States of Central India. (10) Gujrat including Kutch and Kattiawar. (11) Baroda. (12) The Southern Mahratta States. (13) The Nizam's Dominions. (14) Mysore. (15) Travancore and Cochin.

The Native States have a combined area of 679,393 square miles and a population of nearly 70,000,000 souls. The aggregate revenues of the Chiefs are about Rs. 225,000,000, out of which nearly 10,000,000 are paid to the Government of India as tribute. Mysore, on account of the gold mines, has alone to bear nearly the third of it.

These Native States, once better known as the Feudatory or the

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Tributary States of India, are ruled over by men of all creeds and sects. Hindus and Mahomedans, Sikhs and Jats, Buddhists and Christians, Brahmos and Arya Somajists, devil-worshippers and pantheists,—all classes of men adorn the Golden Book of India. We also find among the Princes of India representatives of all the types of humanity that make up Indian mankind—Rajput, Sikh, Mahratta, Tamil, Malaylian, Burmese, Bengalee, Beharee, Punjabee, Hindusthani, Ooriya, Gond, Kol, Bhil, Santhal, Mishmi, Naga, Garo, Koch, and all the rest of them.

Mostly the importance of a Native State is centred in its ruler and justly so. The word of the potentate is law within that State and every important order is issued under the command of its ruler. He is power incarnate and generally carries things with a high hand, and, as has been beautifully expressed, has 'most of the advantages of despotism without its customary discomforts and dangers.' He is treated with salutes of artillery, cavalry escorts and other honours when he enters British territories and in his own 'ring-fence' he is the supreme monarch of all he surveys. He is allowed to have a mint of his own and to administer justice as best as he pleases. As a rule, these illustrious 'Highnesses' are blindly conservative and grossly superstitious, very much addicted to sports and pleasures, and they love nothing so much as plush and buckram, the rulers of Baroda, Mysore and a few other Native States being honourable exceptions. But it does not mean thereby that a Native States is one long series of corruption and mal-administration. Such, of course, is the idea found current in British India ; but it is not a correct one. Not more than 6 Indian Chiefs have been deposed by the Supreme Government for mismanagement, murder and other offences since 1858.

"The Native Rulers of India," writes Mr. Prevost Battersby, "are in a somewhat curious position. They are, politically, a sort of hot-house plant. Over their secluded heads the British Empire has been raised as an inviolable protection, which acts not only as a shield from the rough weather out of which their beginnings were evolved, but as a forcing house which stimulates them to a growth not inherent to their unassisted development. We have made them what they are by freeing them in a quite unnatural way from the national struggle for existence, and we insist, as a sort of return for that unnatural position, that they shall strive what they neither find desirable nor, without our assistance, could possibly have conceived. The situation is alert on either side with delicate considerations."

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Next to the ruler of the State comes in importance his chief adviser, otherwise known as the *Dewan*. He is the executive head of the whole Government and the distributor of all patronages, the medium of communication between his prince and the Indian Government, and on this officer depends to a great extent the interests and good name of the State. Many of the *Dewans* of these Native States have proved themselves to be some of the most capable and deserving men of India. These Native States have been in the past and even now are the nurseries of some of the most able administrators and statesmen of India, though sometimes ministers are thrust upon them from outside.

In most of the courts back-stair influence is a serious factor in their administration and government. There is usually a favourite, in some cases more than one, in whose leading-strings the ruler is generally held. The presence of a favourite in a State is never for the public weal. If the *Dewan* be capable and honest, then it is all right; matters can not go very far wrong. But if the *Dewan* works in concert with the favourite, woe be to that State.

The people in yellow India, with their customs and manners, as might be supposed, often offer a striking contrast to the people of the bordering territories in red India. They have got their own local traditions and local observances. Their laws are suited to their conditions and, if anything, are behind the times. There is greater political subjection and less social freedom in these States than there are in British India. In some Native States there are people who by peculiar marriage customs and laws of inheritance or by their curious social rites have become well-known throughout the world. As to political rights, there are several Native States where the Press is under muzzle and the mouth under a gag and there is nothing to stand between the whims of their rulers and the carrying out of their wishes.

More than all these, the point which should interest the political student is the administration of the Native States. When there goes up a sore cry from many parts of British India for the distribution of the higher appointments among deserving natives of the soil, the Native States offer a most encouraging object-lesson of the capacity and administrative skill of trained Indians. Some of the Native States have no more than a handful of Europeans and almost all the higher posts in their service are filled exclusively by Indians. It is not an unusual thing to see a cluster of European adventurers, exploiters, company-promoters and merchants settling down upon a Native State and "sucking from it

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the moisture which ought to give sustenance to its own people." Yet, in spite of them, the natives get on somehow, perhaps better than in British India. Whether these Native States have contributed much to the growth of a spirit of solidarity among the people or to the building of a common nationality in India, it is not the object of this paper to treat at length. But assuredly they serve, as the author of *India Under Royal Eyes* informs his English readers, as a 'valuable safety-valve for native ambitions ; they offer a career to Indians with a capacity for statesmanship which at present the British Dominions do not afford. As Diwan to a feudatory chief, a man has a chance of bringing into service all his abilities ; he may rise to a position of distinguished regard. The names of men who have thus used their opportunities are known and honoured throughout the entire peninsula and the opportunities are more numerous than may be commonly supposed, for the territories under native rule are only a quarter less in extent than those within our (British) jurisdiction."

There are Representative Assemblies in some of these States. These, of course, are yet in a state of infancy ; and the way in which the proceedings are conducted, though at times imperfect and faulty, does in no way deserve the scornful opprobrium that is hurled at their heads by unseeing and unfriendly critics. Where these Assemblies do not exist, there are State Durbars and Regency Councils to keep up a show of representative government.

Over and above all, there is the hand of the British Government. Almost all the Native States are the 'subsidiary allies' of the British Government and in every court there is a representative of it, styled the Resident or the Political Agent. There are circumstances when the influence exerted by the Resident or the Agent proves neither desirable nor creditable either to himself or to the Government he represents. Some of the Residents spoil the Chiefs by engaging them too much in play and polo and some by too much active interference with their work and movements. In some of the Native States, these 'Politicals' usurp the principal functions of the Princes themselves. But the constitution, as it generally is, does not either desire or allow such a state of things though it indicates the main lines on which the hand of the Sovereign may be seen working for the good government of the State. If any of the States are mismanaged so very badly as to lead to anarchy and bloodshed, if ever there is in any State a hopeless maladministration owing either to the imbecility or incapacity of its reigning prince, if anywhere in these States there be found

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a tangled knot of court intrigues, if any disputes or quarrels occur between rival princes or with the British power, if any ruler grossly misuses his prerogative or oppresses his people, if any natural or suitable successor is not easily found to any gadi,—then the British Government interferes. Some States do pay tribute to the British Indian Government but most do not. On trade questions and over railway lines, the authority and jurisdiction of the British Government are supreme.

The position and influence of the Native Princes are no longer what they once were, in spite of the vain platitude uttered by Lord Curzon about their being the 'colleagues and partners' of the Indian Viceroy in the task of Indian administration. No Indian Prince can, in these days, carry on a correspondence with any foreign sovereign or potentate as Hyder Ali did with Napoleon, but he cannot even raise an army, drill or train it as he pleases, or use it as he likes, nor can he possess batteries of breech-loading artillery or good modern rifles (of course, he is now-a-days secure against rebellion from inside or invasion from without) nor can he impose taxes or make laws without the permission of the Governor-General or even leave India without the consent of the Foreign Office. They are also no longer guided by the original documents enshrined in the costly pages of Aitchison's *Treaties*, but take all their inspiration from the red-tape of the Viceroy's Office at Simla. They are no longer regarded as the "faithful allies" of the sovereign, but have been reduced to a much less dignified position, as was evidenced by Lord Curzon's refusal to return their ceremonial visits at the Coronation Pageant at Delhi.

Speaking of Lord Curzon and the Native States, it would be ungracious to ignore the institution of the Imperial Cadet Corps and the reform of the Chiefs' Colleges—institutions upon the success of which will depend to a very great measure the future well-being of the Indian Princes and the continuance and prosperity of the Native States.

As regards the importance of these States, we will quote two opinions before we conclude. Mr. Sidney Low, whom Mr. John Morley quoted in Parliament last year as a close student of Indian problems, says : "They (the Indian principalities) discharge, or may discharge under favourable circumstances, some useful functions in the Indian body-politic. Within their comparatively restricted area it is possible to try experiments, legislative, economical, and social, which could with difficulty be attempted at one stroke over

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the whole large area of British India. The little cock-boat of a State, steered by its own native pilot and crew, might make the trial trip into waters upon which, if the navigation prove fortunate, it can in due course be followed by the weightier argosies. Thus Mysore can venture to go further in the direction of a social and domestic reform than the Government of India has cared to do. It can raise the age of marriage for women a full two years above the level at which it stands in British India. If this salutary and necessary change were made in one British province it would have to be followed in all the others; some fifty million families would be asked to modify intimate customs and abandon their rooted prejudices. In Mysore there is only a fiftieth part of the population involved, which makes a difference; and there is a native administration concerned in this interference with domestic practices, not a foreign bureaucracy, which makes a greater difference still." The brilliant journalist who came out to India as the special correspondent of *The Morning Post* with the Prince of Wales observes: "The Native States may be regarded and do in a measure act as the groins driven across pebbly beaches to resist the encroaching energies of the sea. They serve to keep within their boundaries some remnants of the illuminated East from the efforts, or perhaps one should say the tendency of British rule to civilise everything it acquires into a depressing and unimaginative monotony."

None, after this, should ignore or under-estimate the importance of the Native States on the ultimate destiny of India.

Politician

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We have been so accustomed to a continuous rise of the Army charges in India that I suppose we must express our sense of thankfulness that at last a halt seems to have been called, presumably under Mr. Morley's directions. But we only get a reduction of something less than three-quarters of a crore, and the total military charges still stand at over thirty-one crores. In other words, the entire land revenue is consumed by the Army and it has even encroached on other heads of revenue. Year after year in the Council Chamber has our distinguished Congress leader, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, raised his voice against this state of affairs, but without avail. The fact remains that a large revenue is raised from a very poor people, and yet almost every branch of

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domestic administration starved for the sake of the Army. Verily then may the unsophisticated people of India ask whether the Army exists for the defence of their country or the country exists for the sake of maintaining the Army. If a little plain speaking is permissible, I will venture to say that this is an intolerable situation.

It has been proved to demonstration that the needs of Indian defence do not require such a large Army. If ever there was any fear of a Russian invasion it is non-existent to-day. As Mr. Balfour said in a speech on Indian defence, delivered in the House of Commons when he was Prime Minister and Chairman of the Defence Committee, a Russian invasion of India is in the last degree improbable. And the present Liberal Secretary of State for War has well laid down the principle that we can only prepare ourselves against probabilities and not against all possibilities. In the first place, there is no fear of a Russian invasion to-day and there is no likelihood of there being one in our day. In the second place, the existing strength of the Army is excessive as a striking force to meet a Russian invasion. It would be unpardonably rash indeed if a layman like myself were to state this on his own authority, but in laying down such a proposition, we are fortified by the opinion of many military experts, who are in a position to take a dispassionate view of the situation. Thirdly, I say that if for any reason the Imperial Government want to station this force in India, it is but right that the British Exchequer should come forward or be made to contribute a reasonable proportion of the cost of its upkeep. It is no longer urged that the Indian Army is purely of the nature of a local militia concerned alone with India's defence. On the contrary, we have been authoritatively told more than once that it exists, at least partly, for safeguarding Britain's Empire in the East. If that is so, I confess I cannot divine what equitable consideration it could be which suggested the burdening of India with this enormous mass of expenditure. The expenditure must in justice be apportioned between England and India in accordance with the relative capacity of the two countries and their respective interest in any particular item thereof. As regards the latter, I am sure it will not be seriously urged by any Englishman that England maintains her rule in India out of purely philanthropic motives. England won this magnificent Empire without spending any of her own money, and it may be assumed with safety that England does not go without some profit in being India's political mistress. And the Indian

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Army serves Imperial purposes whenever the need arises. So that, both countries are interested in keeping up the Army and it does not, therefore, stand to reason that all the burden shall be borne by India alone.

Then in regard to the relative ability of the two countries to bear the burden I will not put forward my own opinion but that of one of the greatest authorities, if not the greatest living authority on statistical questions, I mean Sir Robert Giffen. In a paper on "The Wealth of the Empire," read before the British Association in 1903, Sir Robert Giffen put the aggregate annual income of an average inhabitant of the United Kingdom at £ 1, 750, 000, 000, and that of India at £ 600, 000, 000 ; and a general survey of the Empire led him to consider "how vast must be the economic gulf separating the people of the United Kingdom and the self-governing colonies from India and like parts of the Empire occupied by subject races when we find that 42 millions of people in the United Kingdom consume in food and drink alone an amount equal to the whole income of 300 millions of people of India." This startling conclusion further led Sir Robert Giffen to add the following weighty observation :—

"There is, no doubt, I believe, that whatever may be the physiological and 'climatic' reasons explanatory of the condition of the people of India, the degree of poverty of large masses is a permanent and formidable difficulty of the British Empire, to which more thought must be given by our public men the more the idea of Imperial unity becomes a working force. We cannot safely leave these vast populations, for whom we are responsible, in a state of semi-starvation, and the palliative of famine relief, highly as we must praise the Indian Administration for what it does to save life, is not enough. Nothing short of a revolution in Indian agriculture, and a great development of manufacturing industries for export, will suffice for the diseased condition we have to face ; and how such changes are to be brought about, involving as they do a new education of the Indian agriculturist and an enormous influx of capital into India it is not easy to perceive. But the public at home must understand that until some work like this is undertaken, the Indian problem and difficulty remain substantially untouched."

And yet, it is worth inquiring as to how this poorest part of the Empire is treated by the United Kingdom in the apportionment of the burdens of the Empire and also how are the wealthy self-governing colonies of England dealt with by the mother-country. Let Sir Robert Giffen answer :—

"When we go beyond the United Kingdom and enquire as to military and naval preparation in the rest of the Empire we find that India alone makes a substantial addition to the insurance fund, its military expenditure being about £18,000,000. Beyond that, it is doubtful whether so much as £5,000,000 is spent by the rest of the Empire for military defence although the wealth of the self-governing colonies is so enormously greater per head than that of India. The result is that when we make comparison for the whole Empire, we find that the aggregate income, as above stated, is no less than £3,200,000,000 and the aggregate capital over £22,000,000,000 ; and the military and naval expenditure—the insurance premium of this great and rich Empire, that is, a proportion of about 3 per cent. to the income and 0.4 per cent. to the capital. . . . One of the worst features of the matter is that the contribution by India, whose poverty we have had to lament, is out of sight much greater, in proportion to its taxable

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capacity, than that of the rest of the Empire, although the Indian Army is freely used for imperial and general purposes and is not employed exclusively for local defence. India remains a difficulty. It is certainly over-charged as compared with any other part of the Empire."

Now, let us have Sir Robert Giffen's remedy :

"We are rich enough for anything that is really required whether for defence or for the ends of education, and if there is any lack it can be made good by a slightly greater effort if we only make up our minds to put it forth. The case of India and other subject races under the British Empire requires special consideration, owing to the very poverty of the people who have to be instructed and developed. There are obvious objections to grants from Imperial funds on an extensive scale, even if such grants were easily practicable. But some grants ought not to be grudged by way of a beginning, as an increase of industrial force among these subject races is essential to the true development of the British Empire itself. We may also trust, as in our own case at home, to the recuperativeness of the expenditure. Increasing industrial powers and an increase of means for their further education will accrue to these subject races at once so that their finances can be organised upon a stronger basis. But education is the watchword and should be the first thought in all our minds."

I, for one, entirely concur in Sir Robert Giffen's view that "grants from Imperial funds are to be deprecated," but the cause of India stands on a different footing altogether. We do not want any charitable doles from England. We ask for justice and do not beg for generosity. At present the position seems to be this : whenever the burdens prove too heavy and are to be thrown by England elsewhere, this country is remembered as the most valuable part of the Empire. But when justice is to be done to the claims of educated Indians as citizens of the Empire, India, though in the Empire, ceases to be of the Empire. And yet, after all, England's connection with India will be more profitable to the ruling country if there is "an increase of the industrial force" among Indians. This "is essential to the true development of the British Empire itself" as our revered countryman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has said all his life.

To my mind, the true remedy for this evil of overgrown military expenditure lies in the adoption of a scheme of re-organisation, or re-construction, of the Indian Army, mainly on the lines indicated in Mr. Haldane's great speeches on Army reform delivered in the House of Commons in March of last year. Mr. Haldane there laid down the following, among other principles :—

"It is not absolutely essential in considering what you have got to do to provide for every possible contingency because if you were to attempt to do that you would make yourself bankrupt as a nation and so stop all chance of social reform. Social reform must be provided for. It makes an urgent call upon us. Accordingly your policy must be a policy of probabilities."

"The size of our striking force, which is the principal ingredient in the cost of the army, must depend on policy."

"I do not think you will ever satisfactorily reduce your striking force, even if you have solved your scientific problem for action abroad, unless you provide for some expansion behind it. . . . You must distinguish between the fighting army and the power of expansion, which is to be relied on in great national emergencies only."

"What I should like to see is that far more men should voluntarily take it upon themselves to acquire the elements of some military training in time of

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peace. . . . I do not see why the rifle clubs, the *cadet corps*, the volunteers in every branch, and all the different forms of military organization that we possess at the present time should not be encouraged at a very moderate cost, so that you must have your citizens possessing the elements of that knowledge which would be requisite if ever they were called upon to come to the assistance of the Regular Army in some struggle which they know to be in defence of right and justice. . . . The military authorities are at one with me in thinking that all these things could exist in time of peace, that you could form in time of peace a reservoir into which should flow all these various organizations. . . . The value of such a Citizen Army has been attested by military experts in all ages."

"I have taken hold of the idea * * not of going on the costly system of paying your men as if you had to pay for all their time but of looking to the militia and then to the volunteers, whom you do not pay for all the services they render. If you do that, you have got a foundation on which you may succeed in reducing the size of your striking force to an extent to which you could not do without the support I have described, and thus be enabled to effect economies on a large scale."

"Is it possible to shrink this vast and costly organization? I think it is, with that principle of expansion of which I have spoken. The colonies might follow suit, and the entire millions of the people raise a potential force which might make peace certain for generations to come."

"The power of expansion thus becomes an important factor, and it is a fact which I lay stress upon at the present time."

I trust it will not be contended that it is beyond the province of laymen to criticise questions of Army organisation. After all, as Mr. Haldane himself has said, "it is a lay problem as much as a military and technical one, and at the bottom of these military questions there are questions of common-sense on which the veriest laymen can pronounce an opinion." Well, applying the principles laid down by Mr. Haldane to the case of India, I say it is a most deplorable circumstance that the Government has systematically pursued a policy of distrust of Indians and that our countrymen are not allowed to share the privilege of defending their hearths and homes. A whole nation has been virtually disarmed, and is consequently being steadily emasculated. Indians cannot become Volunteers; and they cannot ever hope to be commissioned officers in the Army, despite all the platitudes about an Imperial Cadet Corps. And even from the humble position of Sepoys large classes of our countrymen are excluded. The Government has entered into a compact with the Japanese Government allowing them in the event of necessity to fight with the British in the defence of India, but India's sons themselves dare not hope for it. Several warlike races of India keenly resent having had to lay aside the sword and swell the crowded ranks of agriculturists. Having regard to all the circumstances of the situation in India, I think it necessary, first, that the strength of the Army should be reduced, and secondly that a considerable body of Volunteers be raised from among the people of India. Small economies will not answer the purpose: large economies are not possible without a material reduction in the strength of the Army. As Mr. Haldane has

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said, "We must consider reductions of 'personnel,' because without such reductions you cannot get economy in Army expenditure." And this can be done without any fear as to the consequences, because, again to quote Mr. Haldane, we are not menaced by Russia to-day and it is not necessary to keep up these vast military establishments.

One thing is clear. Without this large reduction, no internal progress is possible. This progress depends on two conditions :— that taxation is reduced, and a large increase made in the expenditure on education, on sanitation, on several other not less important branches of domestic administration. We are often twitted by somewhat superficial thinkers for being so wanting in common-sense as not to perceive the utter impossibility of, and the absurdity of urging, a reduction of revenue and an increase of expenditure at one and the same time. The truth is that we want the Government to economise largely in the unproductive branches of the administration so that funds might be set free for reduction of taxation and increase of expenditure under certain heads at one and the same time. An effective reply was given to the criticism under consideration by Sir (then the Hon'ble Mr.) Pherozeshah Mehta in the Supreme Legislative Council twelve years ago, and I quote that memorable passage here .

"If you could reduce your military expenditure to reasonable proportions, if you could steady your 'forward' policy so as not to lead to incessant costly expeditions, if you could get your inflated Army Home Estimates moderated, if you could devise ways by which the huge burdens of salaries and pensions could be lightened, then it is not chimerical to imagine that you could improve your judicial machinery, strengthen your police, develop a sounder system of education, cover the country with useful public works and railways, undertake larger sanitary measures, cheapen the post and telegraph, and still be in a position to relieve small incomes, to press less heavily on the land, to give the cultivators breathing time, and to reduce the salt tax."

The threatened loss of the opium revenue will no longer perturb the equanimity of the Finance Member ; universal, free and compulsory primary education will no longer remain impossible ; the few lakhs of additional expenditure which will be necessitated by the Separation of Judicial from Executive Functions will not have to be urged as standing in the way of that urgent reform ; and, above all, no 'want of funds' will be put forward as an excuse for not developing a comprehensive system of technical education ;—all, if the excessive military expenditure were only reduced to reasonable dimensions. Otherwise, no reforms of a far-reaching character can possibly be introduced, moral and material progress will never be accomplished. These are pressing considerations, and educated Indians ought to make it their first public duty to agitate by every

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constitutional means in their power for justice to India in this all important matter.

C. Y. Chintamani

SWADESHI ENTERPRISE & INDIAN AGRICULTURE

To say that India at the present day is enveloped by an atmosphere electrified with Swadeshism would but poorly express the great national awakening which it has been our privilege to witness during recent years. We Indians have, all on a sudden, become alive to the consciousness that we have hitherto been drifting dreamily along, permitting, in our indolence or ignorance, a foreign nation to shape our tastes, our modes of life, our speech and thought. Turn your eyes today in whatever direction you will, you will scarcely find a corner in India in which Swadeshism is not in conspicuous evidence. The Swadeshi Soap and Candle Works hail you from the foot of the Himalays and the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company from far down Cape Comorin. Swadeshism in its inevitable aspect of boycott has been the ruin of many a dealer in foreign articles. Swadeshism has brought its champions into many a scuffle with its opponents, and in consequence many a Swadeshist have attained the proud and much envied distinction of being occasional "guests of His Majesty the King Emperor." Swadeshism has again brought about the downfall of a provincial satrap whose main principle of administration was "divide, weaken and rule." Swadeshism has threatened to weaken the proud voice of the Indian National Congress by creating a New Party which, disgusted and irritated by the failure of the method of prayer and petition, began to preach doctrines so very different to those that had been hitherto adopted by the Congress and so widely removed from the wildest dreams of the most impassioned Congressman that it earned for itself the appellation of the 'Extremist.'

Under the auspices of Swadeshi and boycott, an era of industrial activity has been inaugurated, especially in Bengal. A National Council of Education has been established in that Province, and another of the same character is being talked of in the United Provinces. The movement has not contented itself with boycotting foreign goods alone. There are not wanting those who would boycott everything foreign, including the Government. The following is a part of this doctrine as embodied in the words of one of its champions, Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak: "We shall not

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give them (the Government) assistance to collect revenues and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting on the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood or money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts and, if time comes, we shall not pay any taxes." Swadeshim again has led to the organisation of Societies and Associations whose objects are to send out promising and willing young Indians to foreign countries, Japan in particular, to learn the various arts and manufactures carried on in those countries. The recent establishment of factories for making matches, pencils, candles, soaps &c., are also the offspring of the Swadeshi movement.

The various achievements of the Swadeshi (and boycott) movement in India may be briefly summarised under the following heads :

(1) The awakening to a galling consciousness of our own helplessness and dependence on foreigners for the supply of even the immediate wants of life.

(2) A determination to shake ourselves free from this foreign domination over our industrial life.

(3) The organisation of societies for sending out young Indians to foreign countries so that, after returning to India at the close of their apprenticeship in those countries, they may serve to establish and carry on industries for supplying commodities hitherto got from foreign countries.

(4) Erection of factories here and there for manufacturing soaps, candles, matches, pencils, pens, buttons, watches, &c.

As regards (1) and (2), there is not much to be said except that it marks the first and rudimentary stage of every revolution and that it perhaps corresponds, in India, to a definite stage in the evolution of the Eastern Peoples, as so very recently evidenced in Japan in her proved capacity to resist, repel and to conquer the well disciplined armies of the West. In China the awakening of her masses is manifested in her determination to replace the Europeans in her service by her own children trained in Japan ; and in Persia, in successfully resisting the overtures of the monied classes of the West, who, taking advantage of the present financial depression of the country, tried to get a financial hold in the country and then use it as a thin end of the wedge until Persia was reduced to the condition of an Asiatic Egypt.

But as regards (3) and (4), a great deal might be said. It is not doubted for a moment that the true solution of the social, national and the political problems of India are dependent

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on her industrial emancipation. The latter is in fact the keystone of every nation-structure. It is not a hungry people, always anxiously engrossed in the solution of the bread problem for themselves and their dependants, always at their wits' end to make both ends meet—it is not such a hungry people that will take the nation to a high goal of eminence. To them the purpose of man's creation and existence is misery and wretchedness. To them the whole universe is at best a mockery. Nor does the mutual love and affection of the parent and the child, of brother and the sister, of the husband and the wife, occupy any place in their busy minds. Each stands as the centre of his or her own bread-solving problem. Hunger is the most efficient home-destroyer and social disintegrater. And it is not the hungry people that can ever hope to form a political nation. The chief cementing material of a nation is the self-sacrifice of a considerable proportion of the people, and the sacrifice it would demand would be far beyond the scope or capacity of the half or ill-fed starveling. In short, a considerable amount of material prosperity and industrial independence is necessary before a people can hope to construct a compact nation of high-idealed people. And India is no exception to the general rule.

If the welfare of India depends on her industrial regeneration, what is the position occupied by the Swadeshi movement in the scheme of her material advancement? How far towards the happiness and comfort of the masses of the people will the present aspects of the Swadeshi movement go to help? No body does ever dream that the industrial and economical problem of India can be solved by the few educated men in the country. The interests represented by the educated minority of the Indians, the things they can do or undo in the world of production in India, and the real stakes they have got in her material advancement, represent such an infinitesimally small proportion of the entire interests of India, that any movement which does not extend its sphere of operation so as to penetrate the masses, can never succeed in accomplishing the material advancement of India. Does Swadeshim, in its present aspects, give promise of any such comprehensive results? The subject is worth inquiring into in details.

Let us go back to consider the objects aimed at by the Swadeshi movement, confining our attention to those that we are immediately concerned with. We saw, for instance, that the immediate object of the organisers, besides driving out of India all foreign manufactures, was primarily to secure a batch of young Indians trained in the manufactures of soaps, candles, matches etc., and to open

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new and independent avenues to our boys. The object has succeeded to a certain extent as well as vindicated the industrial capacity of the Indians to a certain degree. So far the efforts of the Swadeshists have not been entirely fruitless and all the credit is due to them of having made some beginning at least. But are our efforts to be confined to this? Will successes in this direction go any appreciable way to solve the question of our national poverty or the building up of a united nation? Are there not other fields of activity with respect to which India is placed in a position of advantage over other countries, in which the masses of the Indians can be made to co-operate for a common end and in which, they may influence the commerce and industries of the world? Are not our efforts in the first instance to be directed to Agriculture and is there not room enough for the employment of the best brains of the more intellectually advanced section of the Indians, and of the untiring and uncomplaining labour of the Indian ryots—is there not room enough for the most profitable employment of these forces in the one great industry of Agriculture in India?

Let us again see if the economical and social life of India at the present stage fulfils all the conditions which must be satisfied in order to make the industrial ventures now embarked upon by the Swadeshists successful to a degree in which its influence will be felt throughout India.

(1) The first essential is Capital. The organisation of Capital must be on a scale commensurate with the object with which the particular industry is started, viz., driving out of India the products of foreign manufacture. Unless a given industry is backed up by the requisite amount of capital, its failure is foredoomed. Now, where is such a capital to come from in India for successfully running, say, a glass manufactory? India has yet not produced, and so far as we can judge from the history of the past, there is very little prospect of her producing in the near future a Rockefeller or a Krupp with intelligence, enterprise or capital sufficient to finance a gigantic industry on a scale that might influence the industries of the world. Nor can we be justified in looking to the joint-stock principle for a solution of the problem of Capital in India. The masses are not yet sufficiently enlightened to realise the advantages of joint-stock enterprises.

(2) Even supposing that the necessary amount of capital is forthcoming, where are we to find the required number of skilled workmen among Indians, who can be relied upon to handle and

work complicated machinery ? Thousands and thousands of such men must be available before the Indian manufacturing industries can be successfully manned by Indians.

(3) Suppose the necessary capital is there and sufficient number of skilled workmen are available and the finished product is turned out—then will come the period of competition and of tariff jealousies in which our industries will have to fight against a dead set and very heavy odds.

So far, the industrial outlook does not look very promising or hopeful. Let us now turn our attention to Agriculture, the staple industry of India. It is widely known that more than three-fourths of the people of India derive their precarious sustenance from this industry. A glance at the statistics of India will teach us many useful lessons. Though production may in the aggregate be increasing year after year, still it will be seen that the productive capacity of a given plot of ground is annually diminishing, so that, the increase in production not keeping pace with the demand for it, the result is that India is flooded by the agricultural produce of foreign countries. If this is not checked in time, it may one day stifle the industries that are still lingering on in India and thus deprive her of the benefit of even her last and only resource.

What India now needs is the widest possible dissemination of agricultural knowledge and a practical teaching of the benefits of co-operation in matters agricultural. The petty character of the average holding must not be allowed to stand in the way of employing the modern improved methods of agriculture. There is no evil incidental to petty holdings which cannot be cured by an intelligent co-operation among the holders. It is a widely acknowledged fact that, by the employment of a more systematic method of cultivation, the productive capacity of the lands now under cultivation can at least be doubled ; it is also well known that the extent of land now under cultivation in India is nothing compared to that which is still lying waste and for opening up of which many facilities exist. If the acre of land which now produces five hundred measures be made to yield one thousand and if the virgin land be gradually opened up, then the wealth of India would leap up by hundreds of crores annually and the problem of Indian poverty would come nearer to solution. It needs no organisation of Capital on a scale beyond what could be afforded by the average ryot, nor does it necessitate the existence of a complicated agency. It does not involve the huddling up of labourers in crowded and circumscribed factories with the attendant sanitary and social evils.

And, most important of all, it does not contemplate the employment of the trained and skilled few alone ; on the other hand, it is an industry in which the units of producers are the individuals composing the whole mass of the people—an industry which affords healthy occupation for persons of every age, from a child of seven to an old man and woman with one foot in the grave. The tiller of the soil, *i. e.* the unit representing more than three-fourths of the wealth producers of India, will be placed in a position of affluence and contentment far beyond the dreams of the most optimistic well-wisher of India. His home will no longer be a den of wretchedness and misery and starvation. His thoughts and cares will no longer be concentrated in the solution of the bread problem, but, freed from self and buoyed up by contentment, he will learn to see a God on High and a brother on Earth. Society will no longer be devoid of interest to him. God's creation of man will no longer be devoid of purpose to him. He will begin to realise that he is an important unit in a nation which, by its gigantic production of agricultural wealth, is destined to sway the economic and industrial future of the world. All that is needed is that educated Indians all over the country who have the true interests of India at heart should now set about educating the masses of our people so as to make them alive to the modern conditions of agricultural production and to the untold advantages of co-operative action.

T. S. Subrahmanyam

HAJI MAHOMED MOHSIN :

HIS LIFE AND WORK

In the romantic history of early commercial intercourse between India and Europe few cities figure so prominently as Hughli, on the Bhagirathi, which was commercially as well as politically one of the most important places in Bengal during the first half of the XVIIIth Century. It was a great emporium of trade, and perhaps the most flourishing port in this part of India whence the valuable products of the country were exported to Europe. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, among other Europeans, had numerous factories and warehouses in the city, and its population, as that of all large trade-centres, was enormous, representing various nationalities and diverse creeds.

About this time, came to Hughli from Persia, 'pre-eminently the land of adventurous merchants,' Agha Fazlullah, a man of

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family and fortune, with the view of engaging in commerce. Agha Fazlullah left his son Haji Faizullah at Murshidabad, which also was the seat of an active commerce, and himself settled in Hughli. By pursuing trade at both these places on an extensive scale Agha Fazlullah soon amassed a large fortune. But he would seem to have lost nearly all his wealth as rapidly as he had acquired it owing, probably, to speculations of a risky nature on which, like most other merchants, he had thoughtlessly embarked. Haji Faizullah, after this disaster, did not remain at Murshidabad for long and came down to Hughli where the father and son continued to reside, carrying on business on a small scale, with the money saved from the wreck of their fortune.

At this time came to Hughli from Delhi Agha Motaher, who had been an officer of some rank in the Imperial service, and originally belonged, like Agha Fazlullah, to Ispahan. Agha Motaher was known to be a great favorite of the Emperor Aurangzib, and had received extensive *Jagirs* from the Emperor in what are now the districts of Jessore and Nadia, and he settled in Hughli with the two-fold object of engaging in trade and looking after his estate which lay conveniently near to that place.

Agha Motaher had an only child, a daughter named Mannu Jan Khanum, 'on whom he doted to pardonable excess.' There is a touch of romance about the will by which he left her the whole of his property, moveable and immoveable, including all his *Jagirs*. Shortly before his death he had presented his darling child with a massive golden *Tabiz* (amulet) which, he said at the time, would prove of immense good to her after his death. The gift, however, was encumbered with the condition that the ornament should on no account be broken open until after he was dead. The injunction was not violated and when, on Agha Motaher's death, it was broken open the ornament was found to contain his will, duly sealed and signed, by which he had bequeathed, as has already been said, all his property to his daughter, Mannu Jan Khanum. No provision whatever, it is said, had been made in the will for his widow, who consequently 'left home in high dudgeon.' Though left unprovided for by the will of her husband, she would seem to have had property of her own, and was, besides, gifted with no ordinary beauty. She married Haji Faizullah, the son of Agha Fazlullah, of whom mention has already been made. The first and only offspring of this romantic marriage is the subject of this memoir—Mahomed Mohsin.

Mohsin was born in 1730 A.D. Following the practice then

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universally in vogue among the Mahomedans and which has also come down to the present day so far as respectable members of the community are concerned, Mohsin, when about ten years of age, began to be instructed in Arabic and Persian which form the Moslem classics. Gifted as he was with the resources of keen intelligence and a retentive memory, he made rapid progress in his studies. Mohsin prosecuted his studies under Agha Shirazi, a Persian gentleman and a good Arabic scholar, and had for his co-pupil his half-sister, Mannu Jan, who also attained considerable proficiency in Persian. Both Mohsin and Mannu Jan Khanum, who was elder to him by eight years, lived together in the house of Agha Motaher where they were brought up and educated till the death of Haji Faizullah. Agha Shirazi, besides being profoundly learned, was a man of considerable worldly wisdom and experience, and had travelled extensively in foreign countries before settling down in Hughli. He was fond of narrating the 'tales of his travels' and describing his adventures in foreign and distant lands to his young pupils; and no one could wish for a better audience. The imagination of young Mohsin was fired by these thrilling stories, and he early conceived that irrepressible longing to travel in far-off lands which formed such a notable feature of his later life and which kept him away from a luxurious home for more than a quarter of a century. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that in those days travelling was in no sense a luxury, and entirely unlike the present-day comfortable globe-trotting. On the completion of each short stage in his journey, the traveller of those days would send up fervent prayers in thanksgiving to the Almighty for having saved his life from some brutal attack of man or beast.

After some years of diligent study at Hughli, Mohsin proceeded to Murshidabad to join the well-known *Maktab* there with a view to perfecting his already deep knowledge of the *Quran* and the classics, and he passed a few years in that city.

On his return to Hughli, Mohsin discovered that some enemies were plotting to poison his sister, Mannu Jan Khanum. He warned his sister of the conspiracy in time and thus saved her life. The conspirators were baffled, and stringent precautions were taken to prevent a recurrence of the attempt on the life of Mannu Jan. But Mohsin, fearing that the conspirators might avenge themselves on him for the failure of their vile design upon the life of his sister, himself quietly left Hughli without informing her or anybody else, and after halting for a few days at Murshidabad, set out,

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when only thirty two years of age, on his well-known travels. He first travelled up-country, and, after visiting some of the more famous Indian towns, ultimately made his way to Arabia and visited the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. After duly performing the *Haj* (or pilgrimage), he earned the revered title of *Haji* which is coupled with his name to this day. He travelled through Egypt, Turkey and Persia, visiting Kerbela and the other sacred Moslem shrines, and spent sometime in Najaf, then a famous seat of oriental learning. While leaving Arabia he was attacked by some highwaymen who stripped him of whatever they could find on his person. "He was thus stranded as a pauper in a foreign land in the midst of an alien population. Homeless and penniless, he travelled for twenty-seven years in different parts of Persia and Central Asia, adding to his already rich stock of erudition and exploring new fields of scholarship."

Mohsin returned to India *via* Khorasan when he was about sixty years of age, his reputation as an erudite scholar and one of the greatest authorities of his time on the interpretation of the Moslem Scriptures having preceded him. After spending some months at Delhi, Benares and Patna, Haji Mahomed Mohsin reached Lucknow which was then attracting men of worth and talent from the waning Delhi and other parts of India. The Nawab Asaf-ud-dowlah, a renowned patron of letters, pressed him to remain there and made tempting offers of position and wealth, but Mohsin, whose object in visiting these places was not to court Imperial or princely patronage but to seek the intercourse of the pious and the learned, declined the Nawab's invitation politely but firmly and returned to his native province of Bengal. He spent sometime in Dacca and Murshidabad—the centres of Mahomedan culture and refinement in this part of India at the time—enjoying the company of the famous *Ulema* or Scholars of those places.

To return now to Mannu Jan Khanum. During this interval she was married to Mirza Salahuddin Mahomed Khan, nephew of Agha Motaher, who had come from Persia. Their married life though brief was one of unbroken happiness, and both Mirza Salahuddin and his wife were universally liked and respected for their piety and charity. The (now famous) *Imambarah* at Hughli was originally erected by Agha Motaher on the very site where Murshid Kuli Khan, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, had established a similar institution before him.

Mirza Salahuddin made several additions to the *Imambarah* buildings, and established the *Hat* still known after him as the

'*hat* of Mirza Salah.' Mirza Salahuddin Mahomed, however, died in the prime of life, leaving his devoted wife to wear the weeds of early widowhood. Left to her own resources, Mannu Jan Khanum managed her vast estates with great tact and ability, displaying a thorough grasp of *zemindari* affairs. She was also a woman of great strength of character. When Nawab Khan Jehan Khan of Hughli sent a messenger to her, with an offer of marriage, she answered thus : "No ; I will not consent to be the wife of a man whose desire is to marry me, not for the sake of affection, but for money."

While Mohsin whom she loved dearly was away, she had written to him, more than once, urging him to return home and take charge of her property, but in vain. When staying at Murshidabad, Mohsin learnt that his sister had become a widow and that the affairs of her estate were falling into disorder. At last he was prevailed upon by his sister to come down to Hughli and take entire charge of her property. This illustrious lady breathed her last in the year 1210 B.S. (1803 A.D.) leaving by will, in the absence of heirs, all the property she owned to her half-brother, Haji Mahomed Mohsin. Mohsin thus became the sole owner of extensive estates. Perguna Saidpur which was his principal estate in the District of Jessore was locally known as the "Four Anna Share Estate." Mr., afterwards, Sir James Westland thus notices the origin of the estate in his excellent monograph on Jessore :

"The East India Company received from the Nawab a grant of certain land near Calcutta and one of the Zemindars whom he dispossessed in order to make this grant was named Salahuddin Khan. This man representing that Sayam Sundur's property had no heirs requested its bestowal upon himself in requital for the loss of his former Zemindari, and the Nawab, not unwilling to give what was not his own, bestowed upon him the four annas share of the Rajah's estates."

There is every reason to believe that the Salahuddin mentioned here is the same person who was the nephew of Agha Motaher and whom Mannu Jan married. As there is no mention in Mr. Westland's book of the *Jagir* in Jessore said to have been bestowed on Agha Motaher by the Delhi Court, it may be assumed that

"the *Jagir* in question was the estate of which Salahuddin had been deprived and for the loss of which he received compensation in the shape of a four anna share of the Pergana Saidpur." Thus was founded the estate of Saidpur, which was afterwards known as the 'Saidpur Trust Estate,' its more familiar name in the district being the 'Four Anna Estate.' Says Sir James Westland : "The lands attached to the estate are of considerable extent and include a large part of the Pergana Saidpur with much of the land surrounding Jessore, part of the Pergana Isafpore, considerable lands on the N. W. of Khulna, and on the right bank of the Bhairab, much of the land near Keshubpore and an estate in the south near Sobnal. The Pergana Sobnal, which is also within the estate, is within the geographical limits of the 24 Perganas."

When his sister died, Mohsin became by the terms of her will, the sole heir and undisputed master of an enormous fortune. It might be supposed that the change from a life of privation and hardship to

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one of luxurious ease and comfort would influence the character and habits of the man. But no. Haji Mohsin was entirely impervious to this change, except in so far as it afforded a larger sphere for his proverbial charity and benevolence. The possession of immense wealth had no influence over his mind, and, he led the same simple life that he had chosen for himself in the days of his boyhood. Mohsin spent most of his large income in charities : all he had was for the needy and the deserving. He was a man of highly catholic instincts and his charities, consequently, were not limited by the sordid restrictions of caste or creed. His acts of benevolence which typified the proverbial ideal of charity are in striking contrast to the "self-advertising pose" of "public benefactors" of the present day. Many are the stories, recorded as well as traditional, which illustrate his magnanimity. "An old dependant of his who, having lived for more than hundred years in Hughli, died a few years ago, used to tell most interesting stories about the generosity and unique character of his wonderful master."* "Once, he used to say, a thief having scaled the wall of Mahomed Mohsin's house, entered his apartment at the dead of night. But Mahomed Mohsin being awake at the time, recognised him as a resident of the place and rebuked him for his unrighteous act. The thief confessed his fault and threw himself on the mercy of Haji Mohsin who pardoned him and gave him some money, telling him not to relate the incident to any body. But so great was the effect of this generosity on the mind of the thief, that he could not withhold from relating the story in illustrating the generosity of Mahomed Mohsin!" It was his wont to disguise himself and stroll through the streets in the night "in search of the famished beggar, the starving widow, and the helpless orphan" in order to relieve their distress.

Reference has already been made to Mohsin's profound erudition which was acquired in the course of a long life devoted to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. He was also a first-rate calligraphist, and his copies of the *Holy Quran* were greatly admired by the *Moulvies* of the time for their fine penmanship. Before inheriting his sister's fortune, he was in the habit of giving away copies which he had made of the *Quran* to the poor and the needy, who had no difficulty in obtaining very large sums for Mohsin's gift, thanks to its charming calligraphy. Ordinarily they were said to fetch 1000 Rupees per copy, and it is on record that the "number of the *Quran* which he gave away *gratis* was no fewer than (72) seventy-

* Vide *Mulk and Milhut*, June 19, 1906.

two copies." One can imagine the amount of time and labour which this Herculean task must have exacted from him.

Mohsin was also physically robust and one of the best swordsmen of his time in India. In wrestling, too, he had considerable skill and was known to be a *Pahelwan*. His strength, however, was never used for oppression or aggression; it was always at the disposal of the weak and defenceless.

On the 20th of April 1806, Haji Mahomed Mohsin, who had never married and had no heirs, signed a Decd of Trust by which he gave away the whole of his fortune representing an annual income of Rupees 45,000, but which now yields over Rupees one lakh and fifty-six thousand a year, for charitable purposes. The original Will is kept with care in the *Imambarah* at Hughli, but a translation in English is inserted on the walls of the *Imambarah* on the north side.*

* "I Haji Mahomed Mohin, son of Haji Faizullah, inhabitant of Bandur-i-Hughli, in the full possession of all my senses and faculties, with my own free will and accord, to make the following correct and legal declaration: that the zemindari of Pergana Saidpur (Quismat) appendant to Zillah Jessore and Pergana Sumbul also appendant to Zillah aforesaid, and one house situated in Hughli (known and distinguished as *Imambarah*) and *Imambazar* and *Hat* (market) also situated in Hughli and all the goods and chattels appertaining to the *Imambarah* agreeably to a separate list; the whole of which have devolved upon me by inheritance, and of which the proprietary possession I enjoy up to the present time; as I have no children nor grand-children nor other relatives who would become my legal heirs; and as I have full wish and desire to keep up and continue the usages and charitable expenditures (*Marasim-o-Akhraiyat-i-Hasnah*) at the *Fateha* &c., of the *Huzrut* (on whom be blessings and rewards) which have been the established practice of this family, I therefore hereby give purely for the shake of God, the whole of the above property, with all its rights, immunities and privileges, whole and entire, little or much in it, with it, or from it, and whatever (by way of appendage) might arise from it, relate or belong to it—as a permanent Appropriation for the following expenditures.—and have hereby appointed *Rajab Ali Khan*, son of *Sheikh Mahomed Sadeq*, and *Shakir Ali Khan*, son of *Ahmad Khan*, who have been tried and approved by me as possessing understanding, knowledge, religion and probity, *Mutawallis* (trustees of superintendents) of the said *Wakf* or appropriation, which I have given in trust to the above two individuals—that, aiding and assisting each other, they might consult, advice and agree together in the joint management of the business of the said appropriation, in the manner as follows:—That the aforementioned *Mutawallis* after paying the revenues of Government, shall divide the remaining produce of the *Mahals* aforementioned into nine shares of which *three shares* they shall disburse in the observance of the *Fateha* of *Hazrut Syud-i-Kainat* (chief of the creation) the last of the Prophets, and of the sinless *Imams* (on all of whom be the blessings and peace of God), and in the expenditures appertaining to the *Ushra* of *Moharrum-ul-haram* (ten days of the *Mohurrum*) and all other blessed days of feasts and festivals, and in the repairs of the *Imambarah* and the cemetery: *two shares* the *Mutawallis*, in equal portion, shall appropriate to themselves for their own expenses, and *four shares* shall be distributed in the payment of the establishment, and of those whose names are inserted in the separate list signed and sealed by me. In regard to daily expenses, monthly stipends of the stipendiaries, respectable men, *peadas* and other persons who at this present movement stand appointed, the *Mutawallis* aforementioned, after me, have full power to retain, abolish, or discharge them as it may appear to them most fit and expedient. I have publicly committed the appropriation to the charge of the two above named individuals. In the event of a *Mutawalli*

It is stated that in the testator's family from generation to generation certain charges had been incurred and usages observed in connection with the celebration of religious rites and festivals, and that, as he had no children by whom the performance of these pious duties could be perpetuated he desired to make provision for their continued discharge. He therefore made over specified property to two Mutawallis or Trustees, Rajab Ali Khan and Shakir Ali Khan, to carry into effect the provisions of the will. The net proceeds of the property were to be divided into nine equal shares and appropriated as follows:—Three-ninths were to be set apart for religious services, and, as explained in detail in the will; two-ninths were to be kept by the Mutawallis for their own use, of which they were to have the absolute disposal; and the remaining four-ninths were to be devoted to various non-religious charitable purposes. The Trustees were also authorised "to uphold whatever they thought fit, and resume whatever they deemed unfit."

Haji Mahomed Mohsin died in 1812, and after his death the estates were managed by the two Mutawallis, Rajab Ali Khan and Shakir Ali Khan. The latter having died first, the management of the entire property came into the hands of the surviving Mutawalli Rajab Ali Khan and Bakar Ali Khan, son of Shakir Ali Khan. In 1220 B. S., Rajab Ali Khan appointed by a deed of trust his son, Wasiq Ali Khan *alias* Moghul Jun, a trustee in his place. Both Bakar Ali Khan and Wasiq Ali Khan managed the Estates for sometime, but they would seem to have entered on a course of embezzlement and mismanagement.* The Board of Revenue interfered for the better management of the endowment under the provisions of Regulation XIX of 1810. On the 16th November 1815, they deputed Syad Ali Akbar Khan with instructions to manage the Estates as *Amin* and temporary Manager in conjunction with the two Mutawallis. After 8 or 9 months, the trust was again

finding himself unable to conduct the business of the appropriation, he may appoint any one whom he may think most fit and proper, as a Mutawalli to act in his behalf. For the above reasons this document is given in writing this 19th day of Bysack, in the year 1221 Hejira, corresponding with the Bengal year 1213 (20th April 1806), that whenever it be required it may prove a legal deed."

*According to the finding of the Court of Sudder Dewany Adalat "the proper objects of the endowment were neglected, the Government revenue fell into arrears, while the income was spent on quarrels between the managers, bribes to the police and *Amins*, and gifts to the Manager's relatives. They moreover, in order to increase their own profits at the expense of the trust, forged a perpetual lease in their own favor and that of their relatives, purporting to have been executed by Haji Mahomed Mohsin before the deed of foundation."

restored to the Matawollis as per order of Collector of Jessore, dated the 9th July 1816, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue and rules for their control were laid down. The Mutawollis paid up the Government revenue by raising loans for that purpose, and managed the Estates for a period of about two years more. The restoration of the trust to them would seem, however, to have been undeserved. In September 1818, the Board of Revenue re-ejected the Trustees from the management of the *wakf* estates appointing Syud Ali Akbar Khan to act again as manager. From this date the institution has been practically controlled by the Government. "In the meantime, Baker Ali Khan became insane and his colleague, Wasik Ali Khan, applied to the Board for reinstatement, but to no effect." He afterwards engaged in litigation with the Government opposing their right of assumption of the Mutawolli-ship. The cause, however, was decided against him by Mr. D. C. Smythe, Judge of Hugli, whose judgment was finally confirmed by the Lords of the Privy Council in 1835. "The Board of Revenue in 1817 founded a Madrassah at an annual cost of Rs. 6,060, payable out of the funds of the endowment."* But "the leading feature in the first twenty years of Government management was the growth of a considerable fund vested in Government securities. In 1821 the property was sold in *putni tenures*, that is to say, subject to a quit-rent fixed in perpetuity, and about six lakhs of rupees were received on this account. But as the suit questioning the validity of the title was then pending in the Privy Council, it was made a condition of the sale that if that case were lost, and the new owner refused to confirm the *putnis* the purchase-money should be returned with interest. To meet this possible charge, the proceeds of the *Putni* sale were invested in Government securities, and, the interest being added as it accrued to the original principal, a capital sum of about *ten lakhs of rupees* were accumulated."

In 1835, the law suits having then recently terminated the Government created the "Mahomed Mohsin Education Endowment Fund," and the decision of the Government of India was recorded in their letter No. 282, dated the 28th October, addressed to the General Committee of Public Instruction.†

* Report of Mahomedan Educational Endowments Committee : Bengal Secretariat Press : 1888.

† "The Governor-General in Council, deeming himself to have succeeded to the full authority and power assigned by Haji Mohsin to the *Mutawallis*, considers it to be entirely in his power to determine upon the appropriation of the funds, subject of course to the condition of adhering as closely as possible to the wishes of the testator in points on which they have been declared.

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After the passing of Act XX of 1863 "a Committee was appointed under section 7 of that Enactment for the supervision of the portion of the Endowment assigned for religious uses. This Committee controls the expenditure of a contribution equal to three-ninths of the income directly derived from the original estate in the form of rents, and an allowance of Rs. 750 a month in respect of the charge for establishment to be borne by the four-ninths share. The Manager, who now deals only with the religious assignment, having no concern with the property generally, receives one-ninth. The remainder of the estate, including the whole of

"Now it appears that the growing income from the Jessore estate was the only fund in the testator's contemplation, and the expenses of the Imambarah, the Mutawallis' allowances, with the pensions and establishment, are charges specifically upon that income, which is estimated by the Sub-Committee at Hughli to yield the sum of Rs. 45,000 per annum.

"The Governor-General in Council adverting to the conditions of the will resolves that three-ninths of the income from the Zemindaries shall permanently be assigned for the current expenses of the Imambarah, &c., &c., of the two-ninths of this income assigned to the Mutawallis, but which are now at the disposal of Government, the Governor-General in Council assigns one-ninth to the agent or Mutawalli appointed by the Government, but he does not deem it necessary to appoint a second Mutawalli, or to appropriate the second-ninth share assigned by the testator to the co-trustee nominated in the original will. This ninth, therefore, will be available for general purposes of a benevolent nature along with the surplus funds to which I shall presently advert. It may, however, be necessary to point out that in the above observations the principle to be adopted permanently is intended to be laid down rather than the particular course to be followed in respect to the present representative of the Government in the office of Mutawalli should Ali Akbar Khan be now in the receipt of a larger allowance than the ninth appropriated to the remuneration of that officer, it is not intended not to disturb that arrangement.

"The four-ninths of the Zemindari income appropriated by the testator to pensions and establishments must remain burthened with these charges; but as many of the pensions, &c., &c., must will have lapsed, the Governor-General in Council considers that the income rising from such lapses may be fairly added to the surplus fund appropriable to general purposes. The expenses of the hospital will, however, remain a permanent charge under this head, but there appears to be an expense incurred for education at present which will be of course merged into the original fund.

"In pursuance of the principles above laid down, there remain at the disposal of Government for general purposes of a beneficent nature. *first*, one-ninth of the annual income of the Zemindaries; *second*, the lapsed pensions, &c. &c.; and *third*, the entire amount arising from the interest of the accumulated fund now invested in promissory notes of the Government.

"The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that, after setting apart from this last mentioned fund such amount as may be necessary to provide appropriate buildings, including the charge of rebuilding or repairing the Imambarah and other religious edifices, if it should be found necessary to renew these, the entire remainder should be considered as a Trust Fund, the interest of which, with other items specified, may be appropriated to the purposes of education by the foundation of a collegiate institution imparting instructions of all kinds in the higher departments of education according to the principles heretofore explained.

"In this manner His Honour is in Council conceives that the pious and beneficent purposes of the founder of the Hughli endowment will best be fulfilled, and under the latitude given for the determination of the specific uses to which any surplus funds of the estate are to be appointed, he cannot see that the assignment of the surplus which has arisen in this instance partly from the delay in consequence of litigation and partly from the fines realised from the mode of management adapted to purposes of education in the manner stated, will be any deviation from the provision of the deed."

the interest on the accomodation, and amounting in all to about Rs. 57,000 a year, is held to be at the disposal of Government as successor to the managers appointed by the founder."

This fund was originally applied to the foundation and support of the Hughli College,* affiliated to the Calcutta University, and open to members of all religious communities. The building was erected, about the beginning of the last century, by General Person, a French adventurer, who had amassed a large fortune in the service of the Marhatta Chief, Scindia. On the death of the 'General,' it was purchased by Prankishen Haldar, a wealthy resident of the place, who used it as a pleasure resort. Prankishen fell on evil days and lost his wealth. The building changed hands and came into the possession of the 'Sil' family of Chinsurah,† from whom it was purchased, for the College, by the General Committee of Public Instruction, then presided over by Thomas Babington Macaulay, for a comparatively small sum of money. The College had also the rare good fortune of being presided over for a long time by a succession of eminent scholars and educationalists, amongst whom were Thomas Alexander Wise, James Sutherland, Leonidas Clint, Captain D. L. Richardson, and James Kerr. The College was opened on the 1st August 1836, and within three days counted 1200 pupils in the English, and 300 in the Oriental Department, the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus being 31 to 948 in the former, and 138 to 81 in the latter. 'To this arrangement the objection was raised that an institution almost exclusively frequented by Hindus was not the most suitable recipient of the income of a distinctively Mahomedan Endowment,' and, chiefly on the representations of Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C.I.E., the Government of Sir George Campbell,‡ by a Resolution dated the 29th July 1873, decided that "the fund should be used exclusively for the promotion of Education among Mahomedans, the Hughli College being maintained from other sources."

The Government—after discontinuing the maintenance, out of the Mohsin Endowment Fund, of the Hughli College—divided the educational part of the said fund into two portions: one appro-

* This institution for about 40 years almost exclusively enjoyed the bounty of the Mohsin Endowment, and reared up a host of brilliant men who distinguished themselves in various walks of life, and left their mark on their respective generations. Mr. Dwarkanath Mitter and Syed Amir Ali, who rose to be distinguished Judges of the Calcutta High Court, both received their collegiate education at the Hooghly College.

† Vide *A Sketch of Haji Md. Mohsin* by Saroda P. Dey in *Res. and Rayyet.* (1900).

‡ Vide *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, Vol. I, No. 4, P. 5-8.

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priated for the maintenance of the Madrassahs at Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Hughli where orthodox Arabic education is imparted ; and the other, towards aiding Mahomedan students in pursuing a course of instruction in any English School or College (in Bengal) by contributing *two-thirds* of their fees out of it. This arrangement has proved extremely beneficial for the Mahomedan community.*

The Imambarah at Hughli demands some notice in a paper professing to give an account of Haji Mohsin, who made ample provision, in his will, for its continued maintenance. The Imambarah is "a superb structure, stately and majestic, in which grandeur is happily wedded to beauty." As has already been mentioned, it was originally established by Agha Motaher. His nephew and son-in-law, Mirza Salahuddin, improved it at great cost, and it was subsequently further improved and enlarged at a cost of over two lakhs of rupees which were paid out of the Mohsin Fund when it had been taken charge of by the Government. James Kerr, 'a man of aesthetic perception,' while Principal of the Hughli College, often visited the Imambarah at the invitation of the Mutawalli who was a friend of his. In his excellent work, *The Land of Ind*, Kerr gives his impressions of the Imambarah which will, no doubt, be read with interest : "A mosque is now building at this place (Hughli), and is nearly finished, which promises to surpass any thing of the kind in the vicinity of Calcutta. Some who have seen the beautiful mosque on the citadel of Cairo consider this not a whit inferior to it. A remarkable feature is the amount of ornamentation and minute carving. All over the building likewise may be seen texts of the Quran, painted in large and beautiful characters on the more conspicuous parts of the structure."

To recall what a gifted writer has said of another fine edifice in a different part of India—'Piety its Inspiration : Beauty its Architect.'

We have seen the deputation in 1818, by Government, of Syed Ali Akbar to be the Mutawalli of the Imambarah. He served in that capacity for about 24 years and was succeeded by Moulvie Zamiruddin Khan, alias Miru Mia, who served for about ten months but with much credit. Syad Keramat Ali, the next Mutawalli, was a Saddar Amin of Jaunpore. He was a man of sound scholarship and real merit. He made many improvements in the Imambarah and retired on pension after serving Government for a period of

* Vide *The Present Condition of the Indian Mahomedans &c.* By Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C.I.E. : Calcutta : Stanhope Press, 1883.

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about forty years with much ability and success. Khan Bahadur Syad Ashrafuddin Ahmad, the present Mutawalli, was appointed by Government to succeed him in 1875. He is the eldest son of the late Nawab Amir Ali Khan Bahadur, and has proved himself a competent and popular incumbent.

It only remains for us to offer a tribute of respect and admiration to the memory of Haji Mahomed Mohsin. He was a man of innate benevolence and real piety, and Mannu Jan Khanum could not have found a worthier, abler or more magnanimous custodian of her enormous fortune. It has been well said that the key-note of all his actions was love of man. This should have been his epitaph, and no one need wish for a better. "Great men," it has been said, "never die." Their example and their life-works live after them. On the occasion of the recent celebration of the centenary of the Mohsin endowment, the foundation stone of a dome canopy was laid over his grave in the lovely *Makbara* garden on the right bank of Hughli. This mark of homage, however graceful, is not the fittest memorial which might perpetuate his name. The tomb of Haji Mohsin, as was aptly remarked, requires no canopy, however costly it may be. The gratitude and prayers of thousands who have been benefited by his charities have formed and will always form a canopy over his hallowed grave. By his own deeds he raised unto himself a noble and enduring monument. The life and example of such a man as Haji Mohsin are a national inheritance and an inspiration for his countrymen.

Syad Hossain

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE JAMALPUR AFFAIR

The recent fruitless attempt of the Mahomedans of Comilla to introduce mob rule in the district, and the report of their discomfiture at the hands of the Hindus, seem to have given a rude awakening to some of the Mahomedans of the town of Mymensingh and still more to those of Dacca. Taking advantage of the support of some Anglo-Indians, the designing leaders of the Mahomedans of the two places began to work upon the inflammable feelings of their illiterate followers and a pretty large number of Maulavies were sent round to most of the districts in Eastern Bengal, Dacca and Mymensingh including, to excite and guide the mob.

What these Maulvies preached to their ignorant co-religionists

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is not exactly known : but it is believed that they inveighed strongly against the oppression of the Hindu Zemindars, the pranks of the boycotters, and the monopoly of the public services of these provinces by the educated Hindus. They are also reported to have held out the hope to their followers that the partition of Bengal meant the end of the king's rule and the predominance of Mahomedan influence in this part of the country and that the Nawab of Dacca would soon be inducted as the Badshah in the throne of the Great Mogul.

A rumour soon got abroad as soon as some of these Maulavies reached Mymensingh—it was about the 'ides of March'—that the Mahomedans of the town were brooding upon and maturing a plan of attack upon the Hindus. This rumour spread like wild fire, gaining in strength every day as the Mahomedans held secret meetings in the different parts of the town and the suburb—some of them under police guard, evidently with a view to ensure secrecy of their proceedings—and as parties of Mahomedans were seen holding mock fight and shouting battle-cries in their own way in comparatively unfrequented parts of the town at dead of night.

All this caused a general panic over the town and led most of the Hindus to make hasty preparations against the apprehended rowdyism of their Moslem neighbours. As the Hindus had sufficient reason to believe that the Mahomedans were enjoying the confidence of some of the officials of the place, they thought it useless to bring the matter to the knowledge of the local executive authorities.

When the matter was coming to a head,—and it was *known* throughout the district that the Mahomedans proposed to raid upon the Hindus on the occasion of the *Astami Snan**—an intelligent Mahomedan gentleman of the town of Mymensingh suggested the holding of a conference among some of the leaders of the two communities to bring about a reconciliation. One educated Mahomedan gentleman, we regret to say, who seems to have very great influence over the rowdy element of the town, not only kept away when it was held, but gave a very indignant and insulting reply when the circular for this meeting was taken to him in his house for his signature.

* The *Astami Snan* is about the most popular religious ceremony known among the Hindu population of Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts. It is a bath (*Snan*) in the Brahmaputra river which is believed to wash away all sins and takes place, on the eighth day (*Astami*) of the full-moon period in the month of April—May, in the course of the worship of the goddess *Basanti* (the Spring-tide *Durga*). This year the *Astami Snan* came off on the 21st. of April last.—*Ed., I. W.*

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The Divisional Commissioner, Mr. Nathan, once the Private Secretary to Lord Curzon, now came upon the scene ; he called together some of the leaders of both the communities and tried to reassure the public mind by issuing a sort of manifesto signed by himself and the leaders—which declared that there was no likelihood whatever of any breach of the peace occurring in the district during, or after, the *Astami Snan*.

A few days after the departure of the Commissioner from Mymensingh, the District Magistrate, Mr. Clarke, also sent for a few elderly members of the local bar in his chamber and informed them that he would make all possible police arrangements for all the important bathing ghats in the District against any disturbance occurring anywhere, and asked them to advise their young men not to go to the bathing places in large number to look after the safety of the pilgrims and prevent any rowdyism by the Mahomedans.

Shortly after this, the seat of anxiety and panic mysteriously changed its centre from Mymensingh to Jamalpur—the nearest subdivisional headquarters of the district. Jamalpur is connected with Mymensingh and Dacca by a metre-gauge railway line, having Naraaingunge and Jagannathgunge for its termini. A few days however prior to the *Astami Snan* festival, which is an important day at Jamalpur, it was announced by beat of drum by the police that there was absolutely no apprehension of danger of any kind and the Hindus might therefore set their minds quite at rest. The greater part of the interval, therefore, passed rather smoothly enough. The Hindu pilgrims flocked to the mela or the local fair in their holiday dresses, taking with them their little children. It may be noted here that the fair is held every year and continues for some time until it formally breaks up on the day after the *Astami Snan*.

On the 21st of April, a number of young men acting as 'Volunteers' had gone to the fair, leaving their lathies behind, to look after the pilgrims. Some Mahomedans picked a quarrel with them and, as every thing seem to have been pre-concerted, the mob all on a sudden surrounded the handful of these young men and brutally assaulted them. Some of these 'Volunteers' made their escape as best as they could. This incident caused a general apprehension in the mind of the Hindu residents and pilgrims in the town, who began to think that, after all, it was not quite safe to go to the fair. Then about three in the afternoon, at the request of some Mahomedan Vendors, it was announced by beat of drum under the direction of the sub-divisional officer that the apprehension of any Mahomedan disturbance was altogether groundless.

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At about four in the after-noon some gentlemen of light and leading—Pleaders, Muktears, Doctors and others—assembled at the local Durgabari, in the very heart of the little town, where the Basantipuja festival was being celebrated and the image of the goddess Durga worshipped. Here they came to the decision that, agreeably to the official request, none should go to the fair armed with lathies—there being no occasion for alarm. So they went to the fair, keeping all lathies behind.

Meanwhile a party of young students were on their way to the fair headed by an elderly man—the chief officer of the *Baje Taluk Cutchery* of the Maharaja of Nattore. Here they were interrupted by one Kamini Kant Bhattacharyya, a Sub-Inspector of Police, who asked them to lay down their lathies, as everything was calm and quiet. The boys did so, but they had not advanced a hundred paces when they were literally showered with brickbats by a Mahomedan mob, who now saw the coast clear before them—for the police were conspicuous by their absence. This mob abused and struck the people right and left, and one poor pilgrim, when brutally set upon by them, was seen to fall into the river never to rise from the water alive any more !

The mob moved on, halted for a moment near the police station, and here they might have been stopped were the authorities so minded ; but the authorities still kept culpably silent and inactive. The Mahomedans then rushed on to the Durgabari and smashed the hanging lamps and desecrated the house and broke the image of the goddess—all this under the very eyes of a European S. D. Magistrate and his underlings, the police officers.

But to proceed : the mob passed through the only main street of the town—the shops were already closed on both sides. A few swadeshi stalls were broken open and looted—the Mahomedan and *belati*-vending shops being honourable exceptions to this sort of depredations.

There is a temple of Kali in the southern-most part of the town and close to the Railway Station. Now, this Kalibari is protected by strong and lofty masonry walls and the gates are provided with strong folding doors. The temple is surrounded on all sides by the *cutcheries* (offices) of the Zemindars of Ramgopalpur and Gouripur who belong to the same district. The mob, finding it impossible to do any harm to the temple, contented themselves by showering brickbats upon it, but directed their fury against the *cutcheries* mentioned above. They gathered in large numbers before them, tried to force their way in, but desisted from the attempt for that day.

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At this stage, they were surrounded by a *posse* of constables who took them to the police station, where the sub-divisional officer politely arrested their *lathies* and let the rowdies off, without even noting down their names.

At this time, a Hindu lad, about sixteen years old, was brought under a strong guard to the police station. He showed his wounds to the senior Sub-Inspector, Kamini Bhattacharyya, who took down his statements and kept exclaiming to himself "the boy is perfectly innocent." "Why was he then arrested?"—was the prompt query of one of the boy's relatives. But the Sub-Inspector replied with shameless candour that he was simply "doing his duty!" "Doing his duty," is very significant.

. . . is a priest of the town. He went out as usual in the afternoon for a walk to the fair ; but was prevented from doing so,—the road being literally blocked up by the mob. He ran back home in consternation—as there was none to protect his wife and little ones there. He found to his dismay that the fencing of mat walls of his home had been pulled down—his sleeping hut forced open, the saligram—the family god—was removed and hidden under some trees, all his utensils were lying scattered outside and his wife and children were *non est* ! The poor man burst into impotent tears and began to cry aloud like a child. This brought his wife home who, with her little ones, had taken to their heels and found shelter in a dense bamboo clump close by.

The next day there was a general exodus of the Hindu inhabitants of the town. Men, women and children, old and young, sick and healthy, rushed to the railway station, mad with the fear of loss of life and honour. Even there—heart-rending as their condition was—they were not allowed to pass unmolested by the mob, who, armed with lathies, gathered in numerous companies in the streets, surrounded hackney coaches and examined all their occupants. Ladies swooned away, children screamed, and old women called upon the gods, thinking their last hour had come ! Many ladies came to the station—with wet clothes on—having passed the whole of the previous night up to the chin in the water of some neighbouring tank.

The scene at the railway station beggars all description. The frightened Hindus were literally packed into the railway carriages, even the trucks and waggons failing to accommodate them properly. Heaven knows how much property—the earnings of years of toil—the savings of ages of economy—was left behind to the tender mercies of the lawless mob and heartless police underlings. The

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town however was soon turned into a desert by a master-stroke of policy—it was cleared at one sweep of all the undesirables—the Hindu swadeshi-mongers !

That day in the afternoon, the mob again mustered strong and rumours are inclined to divide the honours of the day between the Magistrate, Mr. Clarke, and Khan Nawab Ali Chowdhury Bahadur—a Mahomedan gentleman who is generally supposed to be the conduit-pipe of the Nawab of Dacca. Those people who will read these accounts in cold print will hardly be able to realise the panic that overtook the stoutest hearts when the yells of the mob rent the air and they passed and repassed not only from one end of the town to the other but even across the river Bramhaputra. The cry of *Alla-Alla-ho* was set up in the town—it was caught up by different companies of rioters on both sides of the river and the sound was responded to miles away from the town. It would seem that some master-spell had called up hundreds of dark yelling spectors from the nether world !

A few Hindu gentlemen who had the hardihood to stay in the town were summoned by the Magistrate and D. S. P. to accompany them in the inquiry they were about to hold in this connection. They had no choice but to comply with the request. At the *cutcheries* of Ramgopalpur and Gouripur the guards and Barkandazes (darwans) were ordered by the D. S. P. to give up their lathies—their only weapon of defence. No sooner had they laid them down than orders were given by some strong voice to the Mahomedan mob in attendance to “*Maro sala lokko, magar kooch looto math*” (Beat the Salas but do not plunder their goods). The sacredness of the Zenana—the sacredness of private property—and all scruples in co-operating with a mob—were thrown to the winds. Iron chests were broken open,—Zemindari accounts damaged and scattered—valuable clothes torn to shreds and bedsteads and *khat*s smashed to pieces. The Hindus who were the reluctant witnesses of all this outrage left the spot in disgust and refused point blank to put down their signature to the so-called inventories that were being prepared.

Some houses were cut down—the D. S. P. himself lustily wielding the axe, stroke after stroke. When such outrages were committed on the *cutchery* of the Ramgopalpore Zamindar, a Brahmin gentleman of Barrisal objected to the accounts being so recklessly destroyed. Three Mahomedans out of the mob were immediately set upon the poor man. But he managed to escape with nothing worse than a black eye and a bleeding nose.

We have said how the ladies saved their lives and honours by

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standing for one whole night up to their chins in water during the first day's occurrence. The next day they came to the railway station at Jamalpur in wet clothes. A few Mahomedan gentlemen, who were invited to attend the grand meeting of the Mahomedans which was to be held at Gafforgaun and in which Nawab Sallimulla and Khan Nawabali Chaudhari Bahadoor were to take part, saw with their own eyes the wretched flight of these ladies. They were disgusted with the people who were the direct authors of so much heart-rending misery and returned home wiser and sadder men.

There are black sheep in every fold. One prominent officer of Rai Jogindra Kissore Roy Bahadur of Ramgopalpore, whose *cutchery* was thus looted, instead of helping his brother officers and the public, turned right round against them and was trying to win the smiles of the Magistrate by carrying out all sorts of orders. This man is a government pensioner, having for a long time been an Inspector of police.

When the Mahomedan mob was having everything their own way, two or three guns were fired presumably by some Hindus by way of self-protection. At this, the Magistrate and D. S. P. scented revolt—rebellion somewhere. The temple of Kali was considered to be a place likely to keep concealed guns and ammunition. So the outer gates were forced open—the *nahabat* over the main gate was searched by the D. S. P. himself who found to his discomfiture nothing worth all his trouble. Some of the rooms of the sacred building were searched by the Magistrate and the police with their shoes on. The Kali next remained to be searched. It never occurred to the Magistrate—a being perfectly innocent of all knowledge of the scruples and instincts of the people of this country—that the sacredness of a Hindu temple was not to be violated by the unhallowed feet of a *mlechwa*. He was already on the second step when a local gentleman reminded him of the heinous nature of the offence that he was about to commit. The Magistrate and his crew kept back, but sent, we blush to write, a Hindu Sub-Inspector to do this dirty work, who entered the sacred temple, searched it, and came out with nothing more nor less than a goat-knife gleaming in his hand. The face of the D. S. P. immediately brightened up, but it fell the next moment when he was informed, to his utter disappointment, that it was only a knife to kill goats with sacrificial occasions and would not help the theory of 'sedition' much.

Next the house of Babu Prokash Chandra Dutt—son of the leader of the Mukhtears at Jamalpur—was attacked and Prokash Babu was dragged out from his sleeping room on the charge of

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having shot a rioter in the leg. He was of course arrested and taken to the police station along with some boy 'volunteers' and was refused bail—for reasons best known to the authorities.*

When the fury had passed away at Jamalpore, the Divisional Commisioner arrived in a special train from Dacca with fifty Gurkhas. We hear that on the occasion of this visit the Magistrate asked the rioters to disperse. When a few days back the Commisioner had gone to Jamalpore to make up the difference between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, the Hindu leaders were made to sign a sort of treaty of good understanding with the Mahomedans. There were eleven of them who put their names to this paper. These very eleven men—most of them with gray hair—were invited to the police station by the Magistrate to see him. They did so and towards the close of the interview the D. S. P. stepped forth and informed them that they were under arrests—a beautiful arrangement for which the world is indebted probably to the fertile brain of the Magistrate. They were however let off on heavy bail—the officers of Zamindars for Rupees one thousand each, Pleaders and Muktears Rs. 500 five hundred each, and the rest Rupees two hundred each.

Jamalpore is now a desert. The shops are unattended ; the broken houses are unmended ; and the stillness of a grave reigns supreme in the neighbourhood. The courts are closed, the school is locked up. The authorities appear to be at their wit's end in inducing the people to come back. Not very shortly again will the people begin to have faith in British promises nor will they be easily tempted to incline their ears to the siren voice of designing officials. The foul conspiracy has recoiled back upon the cabal, and Jamalpore may not recover from the effects of this incident before another quarter of a century.

Truth

NOTE :—The writer of this article is a most sober and respected resident of Mymensingh, a gentleman who is above 50 years in age and has *never* taken any part in politics. We have gladly found room for this article as an unvarnished contemporary record of this most painful incident as it is bound to prove a valuable material to the future historian of British rule in India. As regards the main occurrences of this unhappy Jamalpur affair, all reports fall in with the account detailed in this article. But as regards the genesis of these riots, there is of course, a difference of opinion. We give below the Mahomedan version of it for what it is worth :

The Hindus of Barisal had lately organised a *jatra* (theatrical) party in which they introduced a play called "Curzon's death and Fuller's downfall" and in course of this play they introduced two farcical characters which are caricatures of Nawab Salimulla of Dacca and Khan Bahadur Nawabali, Chowdhury of Mymensingh. At Barisal the authorities did not allow them to give any performance of this objectionable play. The Jamalpur Hindus invited this *jatra* party to visit

* Bail has been granted to Prokash Babu since this article was received.—*Ed., T. W.*

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Jamalpur and give performance at the *mela*. The news having come to the knowledge of the Mohammedans they told the Hindus that they strongly objected to their action and in the event of *Jatra* party coming to Jamalpur they would interfere with its performances. The Hindus approached the authorities who gave them assurances of all necessary protection. This is how relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans grew strained. At first the visit of the *Jatra* party was stopped but the seed of dissension had been sown and an angry feeling rankled in the minds of the Hindus. The *Mela* time soon came and student volunteers from far and near poured in in large numbers. The volunteers began smashing foreign goods and in consequence there were little rows here and there. A respectable and well-to-do Mahomedan resident of the locality, who had come to the *mela* and had purchased some *belati* articles was surrounded by the volunteers. They tried to snatch away the article from his hand but as he would not part with it easily there was a scuffle in the course of which the Mahomedan got a severe wound on the forehead. The news spread like wildfire and the wounded man's relation and friends and other Mahomedans hurried to the *mela* armed with *lathis*. A free fight ensued and although the Hindus were in a majority they soon gave way and began fleeing. They were chased inside their private houses and were severely thrashed. Some Hindus had taken refuge in the temple which was also entered by the Mahomedans and in the course of the fight a few *lathis* fell on an image which was broken."

It will be noted that the above version completely ignores the part played by the Mymensingh officials, the emissaries of the Nawab of Dacca and his notorious henchman, the inflammatory pamphlets, hand-bills and circulars that were distributed broadcast among the ignorant Mahomedan villagers and the rumours that preceded these riots in the district headquarters of Mymensingh. We happened to be at Mymensingh on the last day of March last, full three weeks before the Jamalpur affair, and found that the whole town was preparing for self-defence against a Mahomedan raid which was definitely fixed to come off on the day of the *Astami Snan*. All these rumours came too true but, on account of the shifting of the centre of disquiet, the occasion found the Hindu population of Jamalpur quite unprepared for a general affray. The statement in the Mahomedan version to the effect that 'the Hindus were in a majority' in the fight will be dismissed as a fabrication by all people who know anything of Jamalpur and the neighbourhood.

—Ed., I. W.

SELECTIONS

DR. RASH BEHARY GHOSE'S VIEWS ON INDIAN PROBLEMS

We make the following extracts from the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behary Ghose on the occasion of the Debate over the last Budget :

I have no desire, My Lord, to play the part of the pessimist who refuses to be comforted. But though the youngest member here present, I am no longer young in years and have lost the robust optimism and, together with it, some of the illusions of the spring tide. Trade returns and increasing revenues, like all statistics, may be made to tell a flattering tale, but the frequent recurrence of famines is an undeniable fact which is not adequately explained by rhetorical phrases about wresting the keys of the universe from Providence, and when I think in this Council Chamber of my famished countrymen, I seem almost to hear their piteous cries which are as the "moaning of the midnight sea," and am unpleasantly reminded of a passage in Heine in which that rather strident mocker describes the dismay of the Olympian gods at a ghastly sight on which I may not be more explicit ; for this somewhat erratic genius who was engaged all his life in doing battle manfully with Philistinism did not write for the parsonage or the drawing-room.

This is, however, not the proper place to discuss the question on which so much controversy is surging in our day, namely whether the people of India are growing more and more prosperous notwithstanding the ever-increasing foreign drain for which Lord Salisbury, who was nothing if not cynically frank, substituted a stronger expression, which need not be repeated here. The reason I do not enter upon the discussion is that I cannot squeeze it within the compass of a single speech. One thing, however, is clear. India is still a very poor country, and we must, to use a homely saying, cut our coat according to our cloth. And this leads me to say a few words on the military estimates. For though we cannot divide or even move a resolution, the lyrical function of speaking out our hearts is not denied to us. My Lord, it is our high office and privilege to be the interpreters between our countrymen and Government, and we should be wanting in our duty if we did not attempt according to our feeble lights to assist in the solu-



The Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behary Ghose

DR. GHOSE ON INDIAN PROBLEMS

tion of the various questions suggested by the Budget on which depend the happiness and prosperity of one-sixth of the whole population of the earth. A great English minister whose name is dear to all lawyers told us the other day that he has no more control over these estimates than over the winds and tides, but we have yet not reached that stage of positive perfection which refuses to believe in the efficacy of prayers, and which in the present case need not be wafted across the seas.

One of our poets who lived many centuries before Shakespeare and Milton and whose name is quite familiar in Germany if not in England has said of an ancient Hindu King :

प्रजानामिव सुखार्थं स ताभ्यो वक्षिमग्रहीत् ।

सहस्रगुणमुत्सृज्यमादत्ते हि रसं रविः ॥

For the welfare of the subjects themselves he used to take taxes from them just as the sun takes water (from the earth) to return (the same) a thousandfold (in the shape of rain).

Peace and order are no doubt the greatest blessings which the king confers on his subjects in return for the taxes paid by them, and it would be childish to complain of any expenditure reasonably incurred in defending the country and in maintaining peace and order, without which no progress is possible. But there is a very general idea in this country that the military estimates are excessive. In the time of the Mogul Emperors when the soldiers were paid in land, only a few estates, or rather their revenues—which I may mention in passing never left the country—were set apart for the support of the army. At the present day, however, our Military expenditure exceeds the whole of the land revenue so that not only has all India become one vast military feud, but even the poor man's salt must contribute to the maintenance of mountain batteries ready to take the field in any part of the world.

My Lord, I may be told that I am a mere lawyer that never set a squadron in the field, but there are some questions on which the man in the street may claim to be heard. Shortly after the Crimean War there was an interesting controversy between Lord Palmerston and Sir George Lewis on the proverbial saying that prevention is better than cure, which like all epigrammatic sayings contains only a half truth. It may be a good maxim in medicine, but in its application to politics we must not forget that the system of insurance may be carried too far. If an evil is certain and proximate, prevention is certainly better than cure ; but not so if the evil is remote and uncertain. For the evil may probably never occur and the

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cure; should it occur, may not be very expensive. "Our foreign relations," said Sir George Lewis, that most logical of reasoners, "are so various and so intricate that if we insure against every danger which ingenuity can devise, there will be no end of our insurance. Even in private life it is found profitable for those who carry on operations on a large scale not to insure. A man who has one or two ships or one or two farmhouses insures. But a man who has many ships and many farmhouses often does not insure." Most people will, I venture to think, admit the truth of these remarks; though they may not agree with Sir George Lewis that diplomatic agents whose time is generally only half employed are sometimes too apt to frighten their own Governments with exaggerated reports of the ambitious and encroaching designs of foreign powers, which I may add have sometimes a tendency to fulfil themselves. The real truth is the foreign relations of England are on too large a scale to allow her to insure systematically for all risks, however remote and contingent. But she may always safely rely upon the valour of her sons and the good will and loyalty of a contented people.

I repeat the answer to the question—is prevention better than cure?—must depend upon the magnitude, the certainty, and the nearness of the peril against which we have to guard ourselves, and I submit that the enormous military expenditure is too large a premium to pay to insure us against the off-chance of a foreign invasion; especially at the present moment, when our relations with our neighbours are most friendly, and there is not a speck of cloud in the blue sky. But some of us are too prone to anticipate the future, and in constantly watching the movements of other nations forget the humbler duties which lie near at hand.

On such a question of policy as this, surely a civilian is entitled without presumption to form his own opinion. Indeed, in some respects he is likely to take a sounder view, as he would not be under the dominion of those idols of the den and of the market which are so apt to cloud our vision. "All professions," says Cardinal Newman, "have their dangers; all general truths have their fallacies, all spheres of action have their limits, and are liable to improper extension or alteration. Every professional man has rightly a zeal for his profession, and he would not do his duty towards it without that zeal, and that zeal soon becomes exclusive or rather necessarily involves a sort of exclusiveness. A zealous professional man soon comes to think that his profession is all in all, and that the world would not go on without it. We have heard,

for instance," adds the Cardinal—he was speaking not in the twentieth but in the nineteenth century, "a great deal lately in regard to the war in India of political views suggesting one plan of campaign and military views suggesting another. How hard it must be for the military man to forego his own strategical dispositions, not on the ground that they are not the best, not that they are not acknowledged by those who nevertheless put them aside to be the best for the object of military subjects, but because military success is not the highest of objects, and the end of ends, because it is not the sovereign science, but must ever be subordinate to political considerations or maxims of government which is a higher science with higher objects,—and that therefore his sure success on the field must be relinquished because the interests of the Council and Cabinet require the sacrifice, that the war must yield to the statesman's craft, the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General. Yet what the soldier feels is natural, and what the statesman does is just. This collision, this desire on the part of every profession to be supreme,—this necessary, though reluctant subordination of the one to the other, is a process ever going on, ever acted out before our eyes."

My Lord, I fear in my remarks on the Budget I have taken too wide a sweep and have overlooked the law of concentration of energy, but there remain two questions which call for an immediate solution, and on which I trust I may say without much arrogance or presumption I have some claim to speak.

My Lord, it is frequently said that India is held by the sword. This is perfectly true. But the sword by which the country is held has both a finer temper and a keener edge than the rude weapon of the soldier ; for it is the sword of Justice. Whatever, therefore, is calculated to promote the proper administration of Justice ought to engage the earnest attention of Government. Now, I am not going to discuss the capacity of our young magistrates to deal out Justice among people with whose language they can have only a very imperfect acquaintance and whose manners, customs and sentiments must be a sealed book to them, for I know it is not always expedient to say things merely because one honestly believes them. But it is certainly not inexpedient to point out one most serious blot on the administration of criminal justice. Is it necessary to say that I refer to the union of judicial and executive functions in the same public servant ? I admit that the fusion may have been necessary in earlier times, and may possibly be still necessary in the more backward parts, but it is certainly an anachronism at the present day in

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the advanced provinces. The memorial which was addressed to the Secretary of State in July, 1899, by Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sargent, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Roland Wilson, and Mr. Reynolds embodies everything that can be said on the question ; and it would be a work of supererogation to travel over the same ground again. There are, however, some fallacies which, though doomed to death, are yet fated not to die. The opponents of reform still assert with a confidence, not according to knowledge, that the combination is essential to the prestige of a public officer in an oriental country, but as pointed out in the memorial in question, is the prestige of the Viceroy less than the prestige which hedges in a district magistrate, because the magistrate may send a man to gaol and the Viceroy cannot ? And this reminds me that prestige which literally means an enchantment or illusion is a word of evil parentage, as a distinguished conservative statesman said on a memorable occasion, and even in its best sense means something, I need not be more explicit, of which those who speak of their prestige have no reason to be proud. Lord Macaulay once said : " I have often observed that a fine Greek compound is an excellent substitute for a reason." In India, where a knowledge of Greek is not so common, and a new compound cannot be readily turned out, a sonorous word like 'prestige' serves the same useful purpose.

It is also said by the opponents of the proposed reform that it is a mere counsel of perfection, as you cannot carry it out without doubling the staff throughout the country and we are reminded of the condition of Indian finance. But Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, who rose to be the Commissioner of a Division, has shown that in the province of Bengal at least the separation of judicial and executive functions would not add materially to the cost of administration and that any additional expenditure which it might entail could be easily met by savings or economies in other directions. The scheme formulated by Mr. Dutt was referred to with approval in the memorial submitted to the Secretary of State, and there is every reason to believe that it can be practically carried out. It is, however, unnecessary for me to labour this point, for the plea of an empty exchequer is no longer tenable, but I have no doubt that a bureaucracy always "perplexed by fear of change" will find some other excuse for retaining their authority. The scheme, they will say, looks very well in paper, but any attempt to put it into practice will certainly end in failure. Readers of Sydney Smith will, however, remember the famous oration in which the greatest wit which the

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English Church gave to the nineteenth century gathered together the long catena of fallacies which were so ruthlessly exposed by that stalwart radical, Jeremy Bentham, whose name was once a bye-word for all that is hateful. "I tell the honourable mover at once," says the orator in Sydney Smith, "his scheme is too good to be practicable. It savours of Utopia, it looks well in theory, but it won't do in practice. It will not do, I repeat, Sir, in practice, and so the advocates of the measure will find if, unfortunately, it should find its way through Parliament. (Cheers.)" The truth is, a reluctance to part with power is inherent in human nature, and there is a great deal of human nature in the members of that much be-praised service, the Covenanted Indian Civil Service, some of whom, whose knowledge of the East seems to have been drawn from the 'Arabian nights,' would perhaps like to play the part of the Cazi sitting in the gate, administering patriarchal justice. Just the thing you know for these orientals."

My Lord, the country has been waiting for the proposed reform for years. The distinguished men who memorialized the Secretary of State in 1899 earnestly trusted that Lord George Hamilton would ask the Government of India to prepare a scheme for the complete separation of the judicial and executive functions, and to report upon this urgently pressing question at an early date. But nothing has yet been done. The question, we are told, is still under consideration. No reader of Dickens need however be surprised at this, specially when he remembers that red tape is now even cheaper than in the days of Little Dorrit.

The union of judicial and executive functions in the same person is not the only anachronism to which I would invite Your Excellency's attention. In the administration of civil justice, too, we are weighed down by the dead hand of the past. The highest judicial offices with the largest salaries in the provinces have been reserved as a close preserve for the members of the favoured Civil Service. I freely admit that there are many among them distinguished by ability of the highest order, but ability however great can not dispense with legal learning, for though administrative skill may come by nature a knowledge of law is unfortunately not one of the gifts of fortune. The result is their incapacity is contrasted with the knowledge and training of those over whose judgments they sit in appeal, members of the subordinate judicial service as it is called, men of ripe experience and possessing the inestimable advantage of being natives of the country. Now it may be that the countrymen of Sir Salur Jung of Hyderabad, Sir Madhava Rao of Baroda,

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Dewans Poorniah and Ranga Charlu of Mysore, Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior, Kantichandra Mookerjee of Jeypore, are not fit for high executive office,—the experiment has yet to be made, but our fitness for judicial office is acknowledged by every body including Privy Councillors like Lord Selborne.

So far back as 1842, the Indian Law Commissioners considered “a more extensive employment of the natives of the country as a means both of increasing the efficiency of the Courts and of improving the moral condition of the people.” Again the Public Service Commission, which included a retired Chief Justice of Madras and other distinguished members, in their report, which was published more than eighteen years ago, said :—“It may be observed that many witnesses examined before the Commission have urged that judicial offices should be made over more freely to natives of India and some witnesses have gone so far as to recommend that the greater part, if not the whole, of the civil judicial work of the country might be usefully entrusted to native agency. In the expediency of employing duly qualified natives to a large extent in the judicial branch of the public service, the Commission fully concurs. The highest judicial offices in the country have already been filled by natives with marked ability while the subordinate judiciary, which is composed almost exclusively of natives of India, has displayed very great aptitude for judicial office.”

In 1869 a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*—it is an open secret that the author of the article was Mr. Justice, now Sir William, Markby—gave an extract from a minute of Mr. Justice Loch, who was formerly himself a District Judge, which shows pretty clearly the state of things in the sixties of the last century. “An assistant,” said Mr. Justice Loch (that is, a member of the Civil Service who has just come out from England), ‘remains at the sudder station of a district for a very short period. In the course of a year from his joining it he is liable to be sent to take charge of a sub-division. For the next fifteen years of his career he is employed in the duties of a Magistrate and Collector.’ That is the first part of his career, and the last part is described in these words :—‘Without any training in the particular duties of a Civil Judge or *any knowledge of the law by which his proceedings are to be guided*, a man after fifteen or more years’ service as Magistrate or Collector, or both, is transferred to the bench and expected to control a number of subordinate courts, the Judges of which may have commenced and continued their judicial career before he entered the service.’ It would be impossible to give a complete

idea of such a career, says the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, to any one who is not acquainted with the administration or rather the mal-administration of justice in India. Suppose, says the writer, a man who had divided fifteen years of his life between the duties of chief constable of a country, a land-agent, a justice of the peace, and a clerk in Somerset House, were to be suddenly placed as a Judge in the Court of Queen's Bench, you would have some thing of the same kind in England and not more absurd."

I must not here omit to refer to a letter addressed nearly fifty years ago by Mr. Howard, Director of Public Instruction of Bombay, to the Government of that province in which he said : "The time is fast approaching when lawyers trained in this country will be procurable in such numbers, and possessed of such professional attainments and practical experience, as to constitute a formidable body of rivals to the untrained Judges of the Civil Service. I am well aware that many members of the Civil Service believe that a Judge in this country need have no law ; that "common sense" is enough for him illuminated by practice and a knowledge of the people. To this it would certainly be replied, with unanswerable force, that the question is not between knowledge of the law on the one hand and practical experience on the other, but between law and no law, practical knowledge being equal on both sides. The question then will present itself before many years. Can Government exclude from the highest judicial offices the only men who are especially educated and competent to fill them? And if the answer is in the negative, the result will sooner or later be to give natives a monopoly of the Judicial Bench."

If Mr. Howard had belonged to the household of bureaucracy, he would not have been filled with these misgivings. The existing order of things may not be altered according to their law which altereth not. They may be convinced, but they will not be persuaded, mere routine and prescription, if I may venture to say so without offence, playing a large part in moulding their opinions ; for the dyer's hand is subdued to what it works in. But the minds of men are widened with the process of the sun, and I am not without hope that the reforms which I am advocating will be carried out in due time. I say due time for I have no hope of taking by storm the stronghold of officialdom. I know too that reform is always slow-footed, and nowhere more so than in India. But I have no hesitation in saying that the time has now arrived when the civil judicial work in the more advanced provinces may and ought to be entrusted to Indian agency. I should add that

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since Mr. Justice Loch wrote, and the *Edinburgh Reviewer* exposed the absurdity of the whole system, things have grown very much worse. For, we now find boy-magistrates, as they are sometimes called by an irreverent public of only seven or eight years' standing promoted to the bench of the District Court. On the other hand the universities are annually sending forth a large number of lawyers with the best legal training. The evil, therefore, instead of being on the wane, is constantly on the increase, and any delay in reforming the system would only lead to the contrast between the Judges of the Civil Service and the trained lawyers being more and more marked. Surely, this is a grave scandal which ought not to be any longer tolerated, though its removal may trench on the vested interests of the Indian Civil Service.

Again the work of administration is gradually assuming such vast proportions that if the country is to be better governed, Indian agency must be more and more largely employed as we cannot sustain the cost of importing our public servants from England, except under absolute necessity. The admission of one or two Indians annually to the covenanted Civil Service will not solve the problem, nor the promotion of a few men to the Provincial Service. It is no longer a question of generosity or even of justice but, as many distinguished Englishmen have said, an absolute financial necessity. This may be said to be a truism but the enunciation even of truisms is sometimes not altogether unprofitable.

Both economy and increased efficiency therefore call for the change for which I am pleading. It is also demanded by other and perhaps higher considerations. A new movement, my Lord, is in progress which threatens to sweep aside the moderate party who are described as dark *Feringees* whose sole ambition is to please their English masters. It is no secret that our young men not merely in Bengal but also in the other provinces, not merely Hindus but also Mahomedans, are drifting further and further away from that party to which I have the honour to belong, and which they charge with having fallen under the spell of 'political hypocrisy' and 'transparent subterfuges' utterly unable to withstand the subtle arts of those 'who would keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the heart.' In the bitterness of their hearts they forget all that they owe to Government, British peace and British order, British freedom of speech and British freedom of public meeting. They forget too that if the dead bones have begun to stir, it is English science and English literature that have breathed

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the breath of life into them. But these men who claim to be the very salt of India can find nothing good in a foreign government and are continually mourning over the destruction of their arts and their industries, their exclusion from their legitimate share in the management of their own affairs, their political enervation, their poverty and what they call their more than Egyptian bondage.

I do not mean to hold this out as a threat ; for, I know the English character too well to imagine that our rulers would make any concession to groundless disaffection. I mention it only to induce them to look facts in the face. My Lord, men whose minds have been nourished on the strong meat of English history and of English literature cannot long be refused a proper share in the administration of their own country. Here is an opportunity of redeeming the pledge given by Parliament in 1833 and repeated in the Queen's Proclamation which lays down the principle that the people of India have a right to share with their fellow English subjects, according to their capacity for the task, in the administration of the country, a principle which has since been repeatedly affirmed by the Government of India. Those who are jealous of the honour of England and feel any stain on her good name as a wound—and we as her adopted children can claim to be among them—must keenly desire that these promises should not remain a dead letter.

In the name, therefore, of economy, in the name of increased efficiency, by the solemn pledges given by the Parliament of Great Britain, by that Proclamation which is at once our trust and our charter, the Proclamation of the good Queen whose name will be cherished by us longer than the most enduring hall in marble or effigy in bronze, I invite, I implore, I beseech Your Excellency to throw open the judicial service to trained lawyers in India, and thus satisfy in some measure our legitimate aspirations.

THE HON. MR. G. K. GOKHALE

ON INDIAN STATE ECONOMICS AND ADMINISTRATION

I find that I must renew my earnest and emphatic protest against the manner in which our surpluses still continue to be expended as capital outlay on railway construction. My Lord, I have spoken repeatedly on this subject in previous years, but I feel the injustice of the present arrangement so strongly that I must ask the Council to bear with me while I urge once again, as briefly as I can, my reasons why a change of policy is immediately called for

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in this matter. This is the ninth successive year when a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure has been realized, and it is clear that the era of surpluses has not yet come to an end. The total of these surpluses during these nine years stands at the high figure of 37 crores of rupees, or about 25 millions sterling, and nearly the whole of this amount has been spent as capital on railways. Now a surplus is so much more money taken from the people, either through miscalculation or in other ways than was needed for the requirements of the Government. And as it is not possible to return this money to the tax-payers in a direct form, what the Government is bound to do with it is to apply it to purposes which are most calculated to benefit the mass of the people. And the question that we must consider is this—what is the most urgent need of the mass of our people at the present day? Judging from the manner in which the surpluses are applied year after year to railway construction one would conclude that in the opinion of the Government what the people needed most was a vigorous extension of railway facilities. Now, my Lord, I respectfully submit that such a view of the situation is not justified by the circumstances of the country. The claims for instance of sanitation on the attention of the Government are at the present day infinitely stronger and more urgent than those of railway construction. Already an enormous sum—no less than 400 crores or 260 million sterling—has been spent on railways in India while next to nothing has so far been expended on the construction of sanitary works. With so many towns in the country decimated by plague year after year, with cholera and malaria committing their havoc in other parts, with the death-rate of the country as high as 35 per thousand as against 16 per thousand in England, I do not see how the Government can continue to leave Sanitation practically to take care of itself. Let the Council consider what difference it would have made to the country if the surpluses of the last nine years—37 crores of rupees—had been devoted to sanitary works instead of to railway construction! My Lord, we all know that by spending the surpluses as capital on railways the Government is able in the final adjustment to reduce by a corresponding amount the unproductive debt of the country. And it may be contended that though the surpluses are in the first instance devoted to railway construction they are in the end virtually utilised for the reduction of debt. My answer to this is that our debt by which I mean the unproductive debt of the country—for that is the only real debt—is so small an amount that its further reduction is not an object

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of much importance. Taking the year 1904-05, we find that this debt then stood at the figure of 60 millions sterling. The "other obligations" of the Government of India, such as Savings Banks deposits, service funds, and so forth amounted in that year to 17 millions. Against this there were cash balances in the Treasuries here and in England amounting to 21 millions and the loans and advances by the Government stood at 12 millions. Our net debt thus is about 44 millions sterling or less than two-thirds of a year's revenue. This is almost a paltry figure compared with the huge debts of European countries and the position may no doubt be regarded with satisfaction. But it must not be forgotten that such a result has been rendered possible only by throwing on current revenues for a quarter of a century the burden of all manner of extraordinary charges which in other countries are usually met out from loan funds. The further reduction of this small debt therefore is not a matter of urgency and can well wait when the money devoted to it may be far better employed in saving the lives of the people. Mr. Lord, it will not do for the Government to say that sanitation is the concern of local bodies and it is for them to find the money required to improve it. Most of our towns are extremely poor and the present distribution of the resources between the Government and the local bodies is of a most unsatisfactory character. How unsatisfactory it is may be judged from the fact that while there has been a plethora of money in the Government Exchequer for the last nine years, most of our local bodies have all the time been struggling with serious financial difficulties and some of them have been in a state not far removed from bankruptcy. Without substantial assistance, therefore, from the Government in meeting the large capital outlay which modern sanitary works require, local bodies will never be able to grapple with the problem of improved sanitation: and to my mind there can be no more desirable object on which the Government might expend its surpluses. The Supreme Government should call upon the Provincial Governments to assist sanitary projects liberally out of their own ordinary revenues and whenever a surplus is realized it should, as a rule, be placed at the disposal of Provincial Governments for pushing on the construction of sanitary works. I know there is the standing pressure of the European Mercantile Community to spend every available rupee on railways, and these men are powerful both in this country and in England. But, my Lord, the Government must resist this pressure in larger interests so far at any rate as the surpluses are concerned. Time was not long ago, when the

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Government never thought of spending more than four or five crores a year on railways. And ten years ago Sir James Westland protested sharply against the manner in which programme after programme of railway construction was being pressed on him in breathless succession. It is true that in those days the railways were worked at a net annual loss to the State, and that in that respect the position has now undergone a change. Still 13·5 crores is a very large amount to spend in any one year on railways, and yet the Hon'ble Member has thought it necessary to be apologetic in making the announcement! My Lord, I have no objection to the Government using its borrowing powers as freely as possible to push on railways which now rest on a sound commercial basis. But it seems to be most unfair that the loans thus raised should be supplemented by the proceeds of taxation. Moreover, judging from certain observations made by the Hon'ble Member last year, I believe that another resource, and that a large one, will probably be soon made available for railway construction and that will be a strong additional ground for devoting surpluses in future years to the improvement of sanitation.

This resource is the profit now annually realized by the State from the coinage of rupees. For the current year it has amounted to the large sum of 4 millions sterling or 6 crores of rupees. Last year it was nearly as large, being 3 millions sterling or 5 crores. Hitherto these profits have been allowed to accumulate at compound interest, and this fund, which will in future be known by the name of Gold Standard Fund, stands at present at over 16 millions sterling. I think, my Lord, the public has a right to ask that the Government should now state definitely what limit they propose to assign to this fund and how the profits from coinage will be dealt with when that limit is reached. This is necessary in view of the fact that the statements hitherto made on this subject by those in authority have been more or less vague and in some respects even conflicting. Sometimes the purpose of the fund has been stated to be merely the ensuring of the stability of exchange and sometimes the much more ambitious purpose of preparing for a gold currency has been avowed. When the fund was first constituted in 1900, it was in accordance with a recommendation of the Fowler Committee of 1898—which recommendation had been made with a view to the maintenance of a stable exchange. In 1901-02, Sir Edward Law, in speaking of the Reserve, leaned to the view that it would serve as "a guarantee for the conversion into gold, if required, of the rupee token coinage." Lord Curzon, however, merely described it as a means

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of maintaining the exchange value of the rupee at 1s. 4d. In 1903-03, Sir Edward Law again referred to this Fund and this time he also stated its purpose to be the maintenance of a stable exchange. In 1904, Lord Curzon re-affirmed the same view. In 1905, the Hon'ble Mr. Baker also gave this view prominence in his statement. Last year however the Hon'ble Member pushed the other and more ambitious view to the front and spoke of the time when the rupees would have to be converted into sovereigns. Again, as regards the amount that it required for ensuring stability of exchange different statements have been made by different authorities. Lord Curzon said that 10 millions sterling would suffice for the purpose. Sir Edward Law put the limit at 20 millions. The Hon'ble Mr. Baker has put it still higher. In 1905, the Hon'ble Member said :—" I should like to see it (the Fund) raised to such a figure as would enable us in the event of extreme and continued emergency, to reduce the Secretary of State's drawings by one half for three years in succession *i. e.*, to some thing between 20 to 30 millions sterling." Now, my Lord, all this is somewhat confusing and the Hon'ble Member will recognize the necessity of making a full and definite statement of the intentions of the Government both as regards the purpose which the Fund is to serve and the limit up to which it is to grow. This is the more necessary because the Fund was created under mere executive sanction without having recourse to the authority of the Legislature and also because the annual profits from coinage are now far larger than had been anticipated. I think the Government ought to adhere to the idea of the fund merely serving as a guarantee for the maintenance of stable exchange. In that case even the high limit contemplated by the Hon'ble Member would soon be reached and profits from coinage—a matter now of five or six crores a year—would be available before long to be employed more usefully than at present. On the other hand, if the more ambitious purpose avowed by the Hon'ble Member last year is to determine the policy of the Government no limit can be foreseen to the accumulation of the Fund. Such a course in my humble opinion, would not be justified and I would venture to urge the following objections against it :

(a) That a gold currency for India has never been authoritatively proposed as a definite object to be attained, as stable exchange at a reasonable rate is all that successive authorities have sought to ensure.

(b) That it is wrong to pile up a huge gold reserve in pursuit of an object never proposed or defined or even regarded as attainable within a measurable distance of time.

(c) That it is looking too far ahead into the future to anticipate the introduction of a gold currency into India.

(d) The present margin between the value of bullion and the token value of the coin will not suffice to ensure the conversion of rupees into gold, for the moment demonetization proposed begins silver will be depreciated still further.

(e) Even on the Hon'ble Member's assumption that the Reserve can suffice only for the conversion of rupees coined since 1900, the stock of rupee coin of previous years—estimated at about 130 crores by Mr. Harrison, the Expert—will not be converted by it.

I trust the Hon'ble Member will set all doubts in the public mind at rest by making a definite announcement of the intentions of the Government in the matter, if not in the course of this debate, at any rate in the Financial Statement of next year.

I now come to what is in some respect the most gratifying feature of the present budget—I mean the statement which the Hon'ble Member makes on the subject of Free Primary Education. The statement is brief, but it says enough to indicate clearly the resolute purpose that lies behind it. My Lord, the whole country has reason to feel grateful to your Lordship's Government for taking up this question in this earnest spirit. The circular letter of November last and this paragraph in the Financial Statement taken together leave no doubt in my mind that before the budget for next year is presented primary education will have been made free throughout India, for I cannot imagine any Local Government standing in the way of the adoption of this measure. Since the Government of India is going to find all the money required for it, I am sure we owe much in this matter to the Hon'ble Mr. Baker's active support of the cause. I cannot help recalling that last year when this question was raised in this Council, my Hon'ble friend expressed his sympathy with the proposal in most cordial terms. "I have," he said, "the keenest sympathy with every one of the object on which the Hon'ble Member desires to see public money expended. In particular, I am greatly interested in his proposal for making primary education free with the intention of ultimately making it compulsory. I hope and believe that some great scheme of this nature will eventually be carried into execution." This was in marked contrast to the reception which the appeal met with at the hands of another member of Government who, by what must now be described as an irony of fate, presided over our Education Department and who was therefore the responsible spokesman on behalf of the Government in the matter. Sir Arundel Arundel expressed himself

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in the matter thus :—" I understand the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to advocate universal free primary education throughout India. That would be a large order. And the utmost that he could bring himself to promise was that the aspiration for free primary education would be kept in view as the distant peak to be one day attained while the work of the present must be slow progress along the plain." What was however a large "order" in March became a very reasonable order in November, so reasonable indeed that the circular letter addressed to Local Governments on the subject shewed unequivocally that the Government of India had already made up its mind to adopt the measure. The incident serves to emphasise the necessity of entrusting the Educational Portfolio to such members as feel some enthusiasm for the subject. My Lord, now that the Government has advanced as far as free primary education, I earnestly trust that no long interval will be allowed to elapse before the next step is taken *viz.* that of making a beginning in the direction of compulsory education. If His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda has found it practicable to make primary education compulsory in his State, I cannot understand why the British Government should not be able to overcome the difficulties that lie in its path. The best plan as I urged last year would be to confer powers in the first instance on Municipal Corporations in cities with a population of say a hundred thousand and over to introduce compulsion for boys within their areas, the Government of India finding the funds required. The area of compulsion may then gradually be extended till at last in twenty years or so primary education should be compulsory in the country for both boys and girls. My Lord, we are already so far behind other civilized nations in this matter that no further time should be lost in making such a beginning. As an eminent German Professor points out, no real economic or social development of a people is possible without the education of the masses. Such education is the foundation and necessary antecedent of increased economic activity in all branches of national production,—in agriculture, small industries, manufactures, and commerce and it leads to a more equal distribution of the proceeds of labour and a higher level of intelligence and larger capacity for achieving social advance. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this question in the present state of India.

My Lord, I have so far dealt with various questions arising out of the Financial Statement which the Hon'ble Member has laid before the Council. The question however that in my humble opinion transcends all others in importance at this moment is how

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to associate the people of this country with the administration of their own affairs so that their growing estrangement may be prevented and while their self-respect on one side is satisfied the bond between them and the Empire may be strengthened on the other. The Englishman who imagines that India can be governed much longer on the same lines as in the past and the Indian who thinks that he must seek a destiny for his country outside this Empire of which now for better or for worse we are a part—both alike show an inadequate appreciation of the realities of the present situation. The main difficulty in regard to this association arises from the fact that the government of this country is really in the hands of the Civil Service which is practically a caste with all the exclusiveness and love of monopoly that characterise castes. My Lord, I am speaking in the presence of so many distinguished members of that service and I respectfully trust I shall not be considered guilty of rudeness in making these observations. These men who give a high average of work and who moreover feel conscious that they are doing their best are naturally satisfied with their position and they expect us to be satisfied with ours. And as they happen to be practically the sole advisers of both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, no reform which they do not approve has as a rule any chance of being adopted. Of course there are exceptions, but I am speaking now of the Service as a class. In a general way, they seem to recognize that some advance is now necessary, but when you come to a discussion of different measures of reform a majority though not necessarily composed each time of the same individuals, is to be found arrayed against every reform that may be proposed. Thus, if it is urged that judicial and executive functions should now be separated, you will be told that that will not do as that will weaken the executive power. If you say that the Viceroy and the Secretary of State should have among their official advisers one or two Indian gentlemen, the suggestion is resisted on the ground that the confidential character of the deliberations in the two Councils will no longer be assured. If you propose that the Legislative Councils should be expanded and improved and they should be entrusted with some degree of power to exercise a check over the financial and general administration of the country, the objection is raised that such a reform would strike at the root of the very constitution of the Government which, as the Secretary of State said last year, must continue for as long as one can see. If the reform suggested is that Municipal and Local Boards should now be made purely non-official bodies freed from all

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immediate official control, the answer will be that Local Self-Government touches intimately the interests of the mass of the people and you cannot allow its efficiency to be lowered. And thus we move round and round the fortress of official conservatism and bureaucratic power without being able to effect a breach at any point. My Lord, this kind of thing has now gone on for many years with the result that the attitude of the public mind towards the Government has undergone a steady and of late years even a rapid change. Since last year the impression has prevailed that the Government has at last decided to move forward and that important concessions are contemplated. I earnestly trust that this impression is well-founded. I trust also that the proposed reforms when announced will be found to be substantial and conceived in a generous spirit. My Lord, it is of importance that there should be no unnecessary delay in this matter. The public mind is in a state of great tension and unless the concessions are promptly announced and steps taken to give immediate effect to them, they will, I fear, lose much of their efficacy and all their grace. The situation is an anxious, almost a critical one, and unless the highest statesmanship inspires the counsel of the Government, difficulties threaten to arise of which no man can foresee the end.

PROSPECTS OF INDIAN LABOUR IN BRITISH AND FOREIGN FIELDS

When I was in New York during the early part of 1900, I met there a Mohammedan gentleman who traded in British Guiana and had arrived in New York on business. Before I met him I had read and heard so much about the South and Central American Republics and the West Indies, that it was not long before I made up my mind to chance a voyage to British Guiana with him. After a short stay in Guiana, I travelled to Venezuela, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, and all the English, French and Danish West India islands ; and I think I can, without boasting, claim to hold the unique position of being the only Parsi who has travelled so extensively in those far-off regions. In most of these countries, particularly in those flying the Union Jack, came across numbers of Indian immigrants. Their prosperity in their new homes at once struck me as something remarkable, and I devoted considerable time to the study of the natives of these countries, their habits and customs, and also inves-

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tigated the prospects of further Indian labour in these new fields. I travelled and observed, and took copious notes, and will now proceed to state how Indian immigrants (coolies) are induced to proceed to these new fields to work on sugar plantations, and what prospects there are for them and future immigrants in these distant lands.

The immigrants called "coolies" are recruited in India by specially licensed native agents, who supply them with an authorized statement of the terms offered to them ; and if they feel inclined to accept them, they sign an agreement before the proper officer. They are then collected in a depot at the port of embarkation, from which they are conveyed to British Guiana, Jamaica, Trinidad, and sometimes to other British West India islands, in a licensed emigrant vessel under contract, and under the charge of a Surgeon Superintendent, appointed by the Crown agents of the different Colonies. On arrival, after medical examination, they are allotted and indentured to the different employers who have applied for them. Their period of indenture is for five years, during which period they are regularly inspected by the officers of the Immigration Department, and are also visited by the local Government Medical Officers. They are provided with suitable dwellings free of rent, built in accordance with Government regulations, the site of which has been first approved by the Government Inspector and the Government Medical Officer. These dwellings are situated on different parts of the estates and are not enclosed in any way. Each dwelling-yard on an estate is a village in itself, and there is no more difficulty experienced by the immigrants in entering into or leaving it, so far as fencing or other material restrictions are concerned, than there is in entering or leaving a village in Scotland. Owing, however, to the necessity for keeping the indentured population under observation, not only from the labour, but also from the medical point of view, it is required that all indentured coolies must reside on the plantations whereon they are under indenture. In general, owing to the distances from each other of the estates in the Colonies, the large numbers residing in each of the dwelling-yards, and the strict compliance with the law under which relatives and friends are allotted to the same estate, there is but little inducement for immigrants to leave the plantations during the week. However, it is a common practice for them, without applying for leave, to take the "week-end" from Saturday afternoon to Sunday night or Monday morning, for the purpose of visiting their friends on other estates. No objections have ever, to my knowledge, after making inquiries among

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immigrants residing on different estates, been taken to the practice.

For the first three months of their indenture they are supplied with rations by the employer on scale approved by the Government of the Colonies, and a fixed wage of 1s. a day for men, and 9d. a day for women, the value of the rations, 2s. 6d. a week, being deducted from their wages. After three months they are allowed to do task-work, at which many of them earn more than 1s. 9d. a day, and are allowed to feed themselves. At the expiration of their five years of indenture they are allowed to work where they like. It is open to them to be re-engaged for service under contract for another year but none have hitherto availed themselves, to my knowledge, of this provision of the law. They prefer to work wherever they please. I have asked many immigrants if they do not prefer working on plantations, and be sure of a fixed income, to working by renting their own land, and perhaps incur a certain amount of risk ; and every one has expressed a desire to work where he liked and be his own master. "Me no work for master same like slave, me wantem to be nabob," is the invariable reply in English ; for you must remember that after five years' residence on the estates every Indian immigrant speaks English—a kind of patois or jargon. Immigrants are required to complete a continuous residence of ten years in the Colonies before being entitled to a free or assisted return passage to India. But after the five years' indenture they may, by obtaining a passport from the Protector of Immigrants, which that officer has no power to refuse, leave the Colonies at any time at their own expense. During illness they receive no wages, but are fed and treated at the Government hospitals situated in the chief towns of the several districts free of cost to themselves. Some large plantations have their own hospitals and staff. For many years past it has been the duty of the nurses employed in the estates' hospitals to visit the dwelling-yard each morning for the purpose of seeing that no sick people are allowed to remain in their houses unattended to. There are no regulations for the punishment of indentured or other immigrants, all offences under the Immigration Laws being dealt with by the magistrate in open court, and the sentences carried out by the ordinary officers of the prison service. The employer has to prefer and prove his case in the same manner as any other private individual. All laws in connection with the introduction and supervision under indenture of East Indian immigrants have not only to be sanctioned by the authorities in the Colonies, but they also meet with the approval of the Indian and Home Governments before they can become operative.

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I have stated under what conditions that labourers are brought from India to the Colonies, how they are fed, and how they are treated. Your readers would now like to know what is the honest opinion of one of their own countrymen about their lot in their new homes, and I should say without the least hesitation that they are remarkably happy.

The Indian labourers in their native villages, overburdened with debts, their small dwellings seized by usurious Marwarees in payment of originally small loans, but swollen by compound interest to twenty times their original value, and their household goods threatened with dispersal, afford indeed a miserable spectacle. Disheartened and hopeless, they hear, as they smoke their *hukkas* under the village trees, of a land in the far West, where labourers are scarce; perhaps they meet some of their old acquaintances, whom they have lost sight of for many years, but who have now returned with a few thousand rupees, which they have earned in that same distant land; so our poor labourers pack up their few remaining possessions, take their wives and children to the nearest emigration depot, and offer themselves as passengers for one of the West Indian Colonies. After medical examination, they find themselves afloat on the great ocean (*kalapani*) in the ship which is to bear them to their new home. They are landed at the immigration depot, registered on the books, and the whole family allotted to some plantation, to which they are conveyed as soon as possible. A family, for instance, consisting of husband, wife, and two children, can earn 16s. a week; out of this sum 6s. a week can easily be saved, which can be deposited in the Government Savings Bank, with interest at the rate of 3 per cent., so that when the family finish their five years under indenture they should be worth nearly Rs. 1,200. This is, however, not the case in all instances, but that is not the fault of the system, but of the men themselves. Rum is cheap, and the Hindus and Moham medans, who are usually sober in India, become in too many cases infected with the love of strong drink. It has often made me sad to see drunkenness amongst some of the coolies. It is, I believe, a proof of an excess of money beyond their actual wants. Rum costs 2s. and beer 1s. a quart bottle in Demerara and Jamaica. In India they are sober of necessity, and as to food, many of them enjoy one meal a day. In their new homes they have all their "caffee-paoo" (coffee and bread) for breakfast, and one or two substantial meals with no dread of starvation in the future. I am absolutely convinced that, if immigrants be strong, sober, and industrious, there is no limit to the prosperity which they may attain. By honest labour

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they can amass a considerable amount of money. I have observed that many of them never waste their acquired wealth in clothes, houses, or servants ; they remain in the same hut, clothe in the same *dhoties*, and eat the same boiled rice and vegetable curry as before ; but they buy cows, and load their wives with bangles, armlets, foot-rings, and necklaces. For themselves they buy sovereigns at the bank, and, sending for native goldsmiths, they keep them at their huts and under their eyes whilst the sovereigns are turned into large gold beads, a whole string of which they fasten securely with a strong cord round their necks. I have frequently seen them working in a cane-field entirely naked, except for a *dhotie*, and a string of gold beads or sovereigns round their neck. Some of them make large sums of money, but when they return to India with their savings they are generally robbed by their relations. As they have lost caste by crossing the *kalapani*, so the priests exact from them large sums of money before they will allow them to recover their caste, as also their relatives and the other members of the village community. Kriparam, an immigrant, after a residence of seventeen years in British Guiana (and he was only thirtyeight when I met him), felt a desire to visit India for a few months. He arranged about his passage, and one afternoon asked to see the manager of the bank in George Town, capital of British Guiana. When introduced in his presence, he said, with many salaams, "Sahib, me go em Calcutta only six months ; me people too much tief, suppose money take em, people rob em, sahib, me give you me money for keep em, and me when come back you give em. Too much bad men Calcutta." The sahib said that he did not take small deposits. Certainly, Kriparam did not look like a capitalist, with his bare legs and feet and a dirty turban and a *dhotie*. When Kriparam assured him that it was not a very small deposit, but £4,000. the sahib exclaimed, "What ! you have £4,000 ?" "Yes, sahib," murmured Kriparam, and took out from inside his big turban a small cotton bag, and placed it on the sahib's desk. Needless to say, it contained £4,000 in gold and paper.

But this only one instance. I could give many such from personal acquaintance. In Berbice, British Guiana, there lives an old immigrant who is the proud possessor of about sixty houses and about 4,000 head of cattle, and, besides, considerable sums of money in the banks. This is no exaggeration. He is reputed to be the richest coolie in British Guiana. Ask the immigrants if they desire to return to India, and most of them will say that they do not. I have seen them in their new homes, smoking Virginia cigarettes and Havana cigars, driving in cabs, drink Dewar's whiskey

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and Mazawattee tea, wear cashmere trousers and Russian leather shoes, and even drink Moët et Chandon's champagne. Why, an immigrant returning to India was known to carry with him on board a case of champagne and half a dozen bottles of Eno's fruit salt. I know one who keeps some of the finest race-horses in Jamaica, and I know some who travel as saloon passengers between British Guiana and New York. And now I may ask, how many can afford to enjoy these luxuries with all our college and University education ?

We shall now proceed to examine the social condition of the immigrants in their new homes, their mode of living, their religion, their morals, and their education.

Amongst the East Indian immigrants introduced into British Guiana and other Colonies, the percentage of women is small ; there are, on an average, not more than thirty-five women to every hundred men, so it is impossible to provide each man with a wife. I understand that there is great difficulty in persuading women to emigrate from India. I ought to say that the male relations of a woman wishing to emigrate will do everything in their power to prevent her from doing so. When landed in his new home, the immigrant, unless he has brought a wife with him, or has persuaded a female on board ship to live with him when he arrives, has very small chance of getting a wife until he has worked for some years and amassed sufficient money to enable him to purchase the daughter of a fellow-countryman who is blessed with a family. It can well be imagined, on a large sugar estate where there are 700 or 800 East Indians, most of whom are young men, that the husband of an attractive young wife has not a very easy life. Every inducement of love and jewellery is tried to seduce the girl (often only fourteen or fifteen years of age) to leave her husband, or, at any rate, to listen to the tales of love poured into her ears. It is no wonder that such a state of affairs often leads to adultery, and adultery too frequently leads to murder. In this country the injured husband seeks redress in the divorce court, but not so with the Hindu or Mohammedan immigrant. He mutilates the faithless wife by chopping off her nose, breasts, or arms, and if in a violent rage, cuts her into pieces with his cutlass. These violent assaults and murders are, unfortunately, very common, and I remember two murder cases which were tried in Demerara during my short stay of a few weeks there.

Jealousy is not the only cause of murder. The Hindu immigrant, as a rule, minds his own business, but often is very revengeful ;

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and if he be injured or slighted in any way he seeks an opportunity for redress. A singularly brutal murder was committed in a village in Jamaica a few weeks before I arrived there. A Hindu woman with her husband and two children lived in a hut close to one occupied by a man named Gangadin. Once friends, they had quarrelled over some trifling matter, and at last the dispute culminated by the woman accusing Gangadin's son of having stolen a shilling which she had left in her house. The woman went to the police-station and laid a charge against him before the police. This so incensed Gangadin that he went to the woman's house, cursed her and threatened her with his vengeance. Two hours afterwards the woman laid her baby down to sleep under a tree, telling her daughter, a little girl of four, to watch her brother while she herself cleaned out the house. Shortly afterwards Gangadin came up armed with a cutlass, struck the sleeping baby with it on the head, killing it instantly, then chopped down the girl, whose shrieks brought out the mother, and whom he attacked ; and, as she lay on the ground, the inhuman brute continued to strike her lifeless body. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death.

The East Indian girls are disposed of in marriage by their parents without much consideration for their personal feelings. During my stay in Demerara I was shown a copy of a curious marriage contract. It ran as follows :

"Plantation Brothers, British Guiana, country of Berbice. Contract of marriage entered into on Wednesday, 13th February, year of our Lord 1884, between Chotwa, residing at Plantation Brothers, the father of the bridegroom named Mahadooral, and Jumnee also a free coolie woman of the same plantation, she is the Mother of the bride named Ramkhalya a coolie girl daughter of Jumnee. They are bind by promise themselves each other by faithful confidence according by this contract and Mahadooral and bridegroom and Ramkhalya bride. They both agreed for married each other and they both signed before presence of three witnesses whereof herein—undermentioned their names. Firstly the coolie woman Jumnee acknowledged and received \$20 and bind by promise for Chotwa the father of the bridegroom. If my daughter released anytime to husband Mahadooral after married, she will pay back the \$20 and also the whole expense of the marriage, and if Ramkhalya kept another husband the same husband will pay the whole amount of this married. This is legal married among them, which they did alway. Their relations in India in the age of puberty propose marriage, on Saturday 16th February 1884 both

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the bridegroom and the bride did married, and every acquainted of this married at Plantation Brothers, Berbice, Colony of British Guiana. Signed before three witnesses whereof hereinto—mentioned their names on that time of epoch as hereafter. This marriage four wish and in eriedint \$89. Eighty-nine dollars this is the whole expense. Total amount \$89."

A magistrate in charge of the east coast district of Guiana received the following letter, which discloses a somewhat singular state of society among the immigrants :

"Sir,—The driver, of Plantation Vryheid's Lust by name of Salim, sold his wife to me for \$97. After receiving this, he came two week after and take her back. I lost the amount. I beg whether I must bring the case before you on the supreme.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Kanhoye his x mark."

It is remarkable, however, that, despite the scarcity of women amongst the East Indian population, I have never seen an East Indian taking up with a negro woman. There is a mutual antipathy between the races. A negro prisoner once asked an Indian witness, "Do you know me?" The Hindu with contempt, replied, "Me no keep em company with black men." Because the Indians are fond of rice, the negroes cut jokes at them by saying, "You coolie, what a rice," which the Indians return, by saying, "You nigger, what a salt fish." When a negro tries to belittle an Indian immigrant, he retorts by saying, "Me no slave same like your father."

Morality among the negroes is at a very low ebb, and the ceremony of marriage is not much regarded among the masses of negroes in British Guiana and Jamaica. In 1900 (when I was in Jamaica) the percentage of illegitimate births was 60·06, and I do not think matters have improved much since. This is indeed setting a bad example to Indian coolies.

There is also the native Indian (aborigines) population to be taken into consideration. These native Indians, away from towns and villages, live in utter degradation. I have seen some of them in the forests of Guiana and Venezuela entirely naked. Marriage among these natives is only another name for purchase, and those of the men who are rich enough buy sometimes as many as six or seven wives, one or more of whom they are generally willing enough to sell. The morality amongst them is of the lowest order. Uncles marry nieces, and brothers sisters, and I have heard of worse and more unnatural connections frequently taking place. The un-

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fortunate woman has no voice in any transaction, and no choice but to submit to what is required of her.

Now let us see how the Indian immigrants are treated by the white and the black population of these Colonies. Well, they enjoy absolute freedom and are treated with great consideration by the white population. There is no Asiatic Ordinance in these Colonies as in the Transvaal, for the whites of Jamaica and Trinidad are better educated and altogether more refined, and are descended from a better stock. Colour makes no difference in these colonies. The Indian immigrants live in absolute happiness. They can live where they like, can own houses and lands, and can travel in the same railway compartment side by side with a white man or a *mem-sahib*. I have often seen white men playing with and fondling the babies of these immigrants. The whites consider them useful creatures, for they know that without them the sugar cultivation in the Colonies would cease altogether. They are useful, and, as the whites say, "they are ornamental." But I regret I cannot say the same thing about the negroes. Though some of the blacks live on good terms with the immigrants, the majority of them have no friendship for them. There is no jealousy. The negroes do not regard the immigrants as their competitors who have come to lower their wages. The immigrants come to work ; the negroes do not want to work. The two races are more absolutely apart than the white and the black. The immigrants insist on their superiority of birth, and pride themselves on the ancient civilization of Hindustan. But the majority of negroes do not know anything about Hindustan, and believe that the Indian immigrants, with their *dhooties* and turbans, come from a savage land.

The immigrants on their arrival in the Colonies are generally ignorant, half-famished, and emaciated ; but after a time they pick up flesh and altogether look different beings. Their offspring born in the Colonies are always better-looking than themselves. These creoles are a fair race, both men and women. Some of them are very handsome, and particularly the women. Not often in India have I seen such stately and beautiful Hindu and Mohammedan women, with their bewitching eyes and tiny lips, as I have seen among these creole women. With what delight and a kind of pride—for are they not the offsprings of the immigrants from India?—have I watched some of these handsome creole girls, possessing exquisitely shaped features, with silk handkerchiefs of many colours wrapped round their heads and with English parasols in their hands to protect their fair faces, looking at the shopwindows in Water

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Street in George Town, and often making purchases in these shops, where white men attend to their wants. Your readers may laugh, but really the eyes of some of these creole boys and girls are bewitching. I have heard many English planters and other business men in these Colonies say that the features of these East Indian creole girls are far superior to those of some of their own women. The East Indian creole boy has tasted the sweets of education and British civilization. He dresses suitably, and, unlike the parents, both the boys and girls now marry for love. There is no lack among them of Romeo and Juliet. A fine race of men and women is springing up, and let me express the hope that these East Indian creoles would form within the next twenty-five years the principal population and mainstay of these Colonies. I met a creole Hindu in La Martinique who had married a French girl of the island. I asked the girl why she married a creole Indian, and her reply was, "Pourses yeux, monsieur."

With regard to the religion of the immigrants, the majority of them are Mohammedans. Although there are mosques and temples in the various towns in the Colonies, few care to go there for worship. They change their belief in religion as often as the seasons change. I have known Hindus becoming followers of the Prophet and Mohammedans becoming Christians before you could say, "Jack Robinson." If a Mohammedan woman objects to living with a Hindu male, then the only thing he has to do is to go to a *moulvi* and declare his resolution to be a Muslim. Ask an immigrant why he became a convert to Christianity, and his reply will be : "When me believe Mussulman, me religion no allow rum and pork ; now me believe Jesu, me same like Governor, me can eat and drink what me like em." No wonder, then, that the immigrants in their new homes forget their God and their duties to their neighbours. Christianity has failed in their case.

Their education, also, is in a very backward state. There are schools for the creole children on the plantations, but the parents are indifferent, and very few can read or write. The negroes are better educated, and it often pained me, when I was in the Colonies to notice how the education of the young Indian creoles was sadly neglected. Have we no disinterested and patriotic men in India who would go to these Colonies to teach the young minds how to shoot. It is no use saying that it is the duty of Government to do so.* The Government of the Colonies have established schools and provided teachers, but they cannot force instruction into the heads of the young. There are many in India with money and

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good heads who should take up this task. Time and money would be better spent on such a noble object than that spent on inciting people for the redress of imaginary wrongs and making them discontented.

The only educated Indian I met in British Guiana out of a population of 100,000 immigrants was a Bengali. He was a short, emaciated man, and had lived in the Colony for about ten years. How and why such an educated man came to the Colony as a labourer was a mystery to many. He spoke and wrote beautiful English, and was once tried, but acquitted, for sedition and disloyal utterances. To me he seemed an object of pity. The white planters hated him, and the immigrants looked at him with distrust. They did not consider this Bengali as their friend ; on the contrary, they dreaded him as a mischief-maker, and as one who tried to bring about a state of ill-feeling between the whites and themselves. They treated him as a worthless fellow, saying : *Bara haramkhor hai, nahī kuch kam karē, khali sarkarku gali dēvē*. With all his education, he could scarcely find any work in the Colony. Let me here state that these uneducated but happy and prospering immigrants yield to none in point of loyalty to the British Raj. They have no imaginary grievances, and are consequently happy.

Although this Bengali gentleman wrote excellent English, there are often to be noticed specimens of English "as she is wrote" by the Indian settlers which would send one into fits of laughter. An English magistrate in Berbice received the following application from a Mohammedan immigrant, relating to a vacancy in the staff of interpreters in the chief court of that town :

"Sir,—The humble petitioner has been and will solicitation that I heard the Hindustani interpreter of Sheriffs interpreter he self left the business, and willing to go to his native country in the second ship, and if Perfector order to the Petitioner for in his compensation in the same business, of couers I will make arrangements in the Court to look after consigment of ordinal manner for that Statu quo. Therefore I oblige to bring in my consideration or understanding for the place. And this is my information brought to your Highness for the business, and will divulged, and humbly represents to consent the petitioner in the same place."

But in their speeches and writings the negroes of the Colonies almost equal the immigrants. Take the following for example :

"Sir,—You yourself is a mortal man that God Almighty has made, and through your dignity and wisdom Her Majesty has appointed you to assist the Governor to rool the nations. Therefore

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Sir, you become not only a magistrate, but as a father for us in this Demerara River district. So, Sir, I trust with all confidence that you will hearken to my humble statement. I am obliged to inform your Worship that on the 11th March about 7 o'clock in the night I was barbarously beaten by Joseph Adonis and his wife with sticks, and inflict wounds on my body and Bloodshed. Also Deprived me of the sum of twelve dollars and seventy-two cents I had brought from town with me, the very night, was tied into a handkerchief and was into my pocket. Both parties deprived me all. I am obliged to confess to your Worship that I was overtaken in liquor and became drunk, so that I could not defend myself. Afterwards they hit upon the results of what they had done, they planned out to take the first steps of Law before your Worship so as to make their ends right, and before I recovered my health from the beating, her husband already set up his wife before your Worship with their complaint. Moreover the Complainer have many witnesses that are living with her in one aboad and her husband soporting them. They will no doubt purge themselves before your Worship, and I having only one though a sconstable and slow of speech. I hereby subject myself to your worship decision on Court Day, and trust that the Almighty will enhance Your Worship to greater Honour for justice sake."

Their speeches are as wonderful as their letters. At a black wedding one of the guests delivered an oration which he had carefully written down :

"My friends, it is with feelings of no ordinary nature which have actuated my inmost heart on this present occasion, for on such festivities so full of mirth and aggrandizement, when the Bridegroom and Bride in all their splendour repair to the house of reception, and there we find familiar friends and neighbours heralding the consummation of their enterprise, it fills me with that enthusiasm which otherwise would fail to draw out our congratulations."

I will now state how Indian immigrants who have finished their five years' term of labour in plantations could proceed to make a living for themselves independently in the Colonies or in other foreign lands close to the Colonies. From what I have observed, I could safely say that in the case of hard working and steady immigrants there is no necessity that they should migrate to foreign lands. There are at present about 300,000 of them in the three Colonies, and there is enough work for them all. Jamaica and Trinidad have plenty of work for them ; however, I should at any time prefer British Guiana. It is my ideal for a Colony. Were I

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at any time to choose a simple life with "three acres and a cow," I should certainly prefer it to the other Colonies for my abode. It is an immense country, where a million souls and more could live by working on the soil. The climate is perfect and vegetation grows wild. There is perpetual summer, though it rains at intervals. There is no fear of the monsoon failing and no dread of consequent famine. A *dhotie* and a turban are only necessary for covering the body. Land is cheap—about a dollar an acre, provided you undertake to put it under cultivation within a certain period. Rice could be easily grown for local consumption. Yams and cassava grow without much effort. All sorts of fruits and vegetables could be cultivated, for the soil is easily worked and inexhaustibly fertile. The bread-fruit and *papao* grow luxuriantly. From cocoa-nuts you can get oil or butter. Baked plantains are considered very nourishing. You might say that bananas and plantains grow wild. I have seen whole bunches of them thrown to pigs—such bananas as would be considered a luxury on the table of any large restaurant in London. Oranges and limes are plentiful; the latter grow in abundance, and are allowed to ripen on the trees, to fall ultimately on the ground and rot. Purchase a few acres and grow cocoa and coffee, and silver always awaits for these products in the towns. If you have money, go in for shop-keeping. Some of the finest shops in Water Street, the principal thoroughfare of George Town, are owned by Indian immigrants. Many have made decent fortunes by lending money to negroes, and sometimes even to Portuguese shop-keepers and white assistants in banks and mercantile offices. In short, British Guiana is India on a miniature scale. The climate and the surroundings remind you of India, and lend you a sense of feeling that you are living in your native land. An English traveller in the Colony thus describes a coolie village :

"Human dwelling-places are rarely interesting in the tropics. A roof which will keep the rain out is all that is needed. The more free the passage given to the air under the floor and through the side, the more healthy the habitation; and the houses, when we came among them, seemed merely enlarged packing-cases loosely nailed together and raised on stones a foot or two from the ground. The rest of the scenes was picturesque enough. The Indian jewellers were sitting cross-legged before their charcoal pans, making silver bracelets and earrings. Brilliant garments, crimson and blue and orange, were hanging to dry on clothes-lines. Men were going out to work, women cooking, children playing or munching sugar-

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cane, while great mango-trees spread a cool green roof over all. Like Rachel, the coolies had brought their gods to their new homes. In the centre of the village was a Hindu temple, made up rudely out of boards, with a verandah running round it. The doors were locked. An old man who had charge told us we could not enter; a crowd, suspicious and sullen, gathered about us as we tried to prevail upon him; so we had to content ourselves with the outside, which was gaudily, and not unskilfully, painted in Indian fashion. There were gods and goddesses in various attitudes; Vishnu fighting with the monkey god, Vishnu with cutlass and shield, the monkey with his tail round one tree while he brandished two others, one in each hand, as clubs. I suppose that we smiled, but our curiosity was resented, and we found it prudent to withdraw."

If an immigrant is not satisfied with British Guiana, then let him try some of the Republics in South and Central America. Let us first see how Venezuela would suit our immigrant. There are already many Indian labourers working there on coffee plantations. Many of them are married to Spanish women. Some of them have forgotten Hindustani and only speak Spanish. I met many of them. They are very hospitable. Enormous as Venezuela is—being four times as big as the whole of Central America—there are less than three millions of people to inhabit it. Over fifty millions could live easily there without in any way crowding upon one another. Many labourers find regular occupation on the sugar plantations, since the cane grows everywhere in the country, except in the mountainous regions, and the sowing and reaping are so arranged as to keep the plantations under cultivation all the year round. Constant irrigation has to be resorted to, but in a land so bountifully supplied with water this is easy enough. Besides the Orinoco, there are 1,058 rivers in this large Republic. In the large coffee plantations a labourer works happily and contentedly enough for his 40 or 50 cents a day putting in from seven to eight hours' good work.

To induce immigrants to come to Venezuela the Government offers free transportation from the starting-place to that of destination at the main immigrant depots. Immigrants are cared for and fed for a space of thirty days after their arrival, all their belongings are carried free, they are exempt from Consular or other fees, and when they are engaged to work by the Government they are transported free to the Colonies. Moreover, each man or woman of prescribed age is entitled to a free grant of public land of from two to six hectares. They have to cultivate one-third of it within

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four years, or it is confiscated. The new arrivals are governed by the alien law, but may become naturalized. Within two years of their arrival they may purchase lands, but need not pay for them until four years later, when title-deeds are issued in their favour, and these may be regarded as secure.

Then we have Brazil and the Argentine Republic. Brazil is the third largest country in the world, and the population is only fifteen millions. Vanilla and coffee could be grown very profitably. A condition of assistance to immigrants by the Brazil Government is that the arrival shall remain in the country for at least three years, and shall seriously work the allotment of land given to him. For this period he must not sell it but at the end of the time he has "a clear and inviolable title," of which he may freely dispose if he wishes and if he can. I may say that the attitude of the Government towards immigrants is one of benevolent toleration.

If the new settler has an aptitude for agriculture, and if he is prepared to carry that natural aptitude into effect, he may find Brazil a "passable" field for his enterprise. It is agriculture in particular which the Brazilian Government is prepared to foster, and it has offered great inducements to those who will seriously undertake it. Bounties have been paid to farmers who can produce on the market-place 4,000 pounds of flour, 2,000 pounds of rice, or 1,200 pounds of maize, which has been actually grown in the country. Additionally, all rice, maize, cotton, beans, flour, sugar, molasses, and even sugar-cane brandy and tobacco, have been declared to be free from any description of taxation for ten years.

Other countries (particularly Russia) are sending out agents to Brazil with the object of finding suitable places for Russian colonists. The rich Jews are doing the same thing for their unfortunate co-religionists. Here is a chance for the rich Zemindars of Bengal to assist some of their poor countrymen. I have heard of no one starving in Brazil, the country being too rich in natural foodstuffs for that to happen, in addition to which the people themselves are, as a rule, kind and considerate to the stranger at their gates.

The Argentine stands alone among the South American republics as an exporter of cereals. Little more than thirty years ago the country was importing grains for her own consumption from the United States or Chile; but to-day she is supplying a great part of Europe, and promises, at no distant date, to take position as premier wheat-producer of the world. It is estimated that there are 104 million hectares of arable land fit for immediate cultivation, and only ten millions are actually under cultivation. Day by

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day, however, the wheat area is spreading, more particularly in the regions of the railways, which are naturally doing their utmost to encourage farmers in their enterprise. The question of labour is, however, daily becoming more difficult of solution. Immigration is not proceeding as rapidly as could be desired, and although wages range high during the harvest season, the number of workers presenting themselves are becoming fewer and fewer. The growing of wheat can be carried out in the following ways :

(a) Upon rented land, payment being made in cash or equivalent to the same in crop.

(b) In partnership with the landowner, the latter taking 50, 40, or 30 per cent, of the crop.

In addition to wheat, profitable cultivation may be undertaken in the Argentine of barley and oats ; rice, of which but little is grown, considering the facilities which the country offers.

Moreover, there is a profusion of mineral wealth in these countries. But the ignorant natives do not half realize the immensity and importance of their possessions. Over and over again have I thought, "How if the Union Jack floated here ?" But that is rather treading on dangerous ground. What about Mr. Monroe and his doctrine ?

Outside the British Colonies, the most prosperous East Indians I have come across are in Costa Rica, Central America. In some parts of Costa Rica, particularly near the Banana River, land could be had for the asking. You have only to clear the forests and begin cultivation. By industry and hard work you could grow more than what you would require for your own needs. Some of the East Indians there have put large tracts of land under cultivation and have become rich by growing bananas and cocoa, which find a ready sale in Port Limon, and from where they are shipped to New York. While in San José, the capital of Costa Rica, I met several East Indian beggars, well dressed, smoking briar-wood pipes and riding well-fed horses. They had all brass rings round their necks to show that they were permitted to beg. They were all healthy and strong, and did not seem inclined to do honest work. Some of them were married to pretty Spanish women and had large families. Although beggars, they wasted their money in gambling, drinking, and dissipation. I spoke to some with the idea of getting them to realize their degradation, but alas ! they had already sunk too low. I also met in Port Limon, coolie Harris, who bore the proud designation of the King of Indian coolies. He was the richest East Indian in all Central America. Hindu by birth, he had clung to the same orthodox rites and ceremonies that he had learnt

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in the same old country, and had married a Hindu creole girl from Jamaica. He spoke Spanish, English and Hindi, and was one of the greatest drunkards I have come across during my rambles in that part of the world. Many more interesting anecdotes and strange experience I could relate, but all "that is another story," as Kipling would say.

Before I close, there is one important point to which I would specially like to draw attention. I have stated what prospects are out to Indian labourers in these distant lands, but I must not forget to remark that there are really very few chances for educated Indians with University degrees there. A couple of barristers and a couple of doctors can surely prosper in British Guiana, and can secure good practice among the East Indians, who are, as a rule, very fond of litigation. A few more Indian doctors and barristers could do well in Jamaica and Trinidad. A few can thrive as merchants and their clerks. But that is all. The ordinary labourer, without a University degree or without being called to the Bar, could prosper in these Colonies and could even make fortunes, but the products of our Universities are sure to rot. For Parsis there is absolutely no field there. Of late they have all become too soft by a surfeit of prosperity to undergo the hardships and privation of establishing a Colony in these distant lands, where travelling conveniences are as yet few, and personal comforts not many, and, besides, costly. Of late also, I am sorry to say, that instead of concentrating their attention to the development of industries and commerce, some of them have taken to politics and criticising the actions of the Government. And while Hindus and Mohammedans are quietly amassing money in Bombay and elsewhere, the Parsis are ruining their future prospects. Alas that it should be so !

To sum up, then, sober and industrious men prosper everywhere, but the intemperate and lazy never do any good. My ideal of a Colony for immigrants being British Guiana, I again say that every hardworking and honest man or woman who goes there has an equal chance of improvement. The climate is well suited to East Indians ; their offspring show signs of improvement, and will, let us hope, in time form the principal resident population. No one can say what may be before them hereafter. But one thing I am sure of, that, under the beneficent administration of the British Raj, these Indian immigrants and their offspring can live happily, and prosper, and that, years after, our children may live to see flying in that distant land the Union Jack as now, but with the addition of the words inscribed in letters of gold, "The Colony of British New India." —Read by N. M. Cooper before the E. I. Association.

LIST OF BOOKS ON INDIA	... ..	424

1. RISLEY, H. H.—The People of India (Illustrated)
Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta.
2. MUKERJEE, N. G.—Handbook of Indian Agriculture
(Second Edition).
3. WINDSOR, F. N.—Indian Toxicology : An Attempt
to describe such poisons as are used in India.
4. BLECHYNDEN, KATHLEEN—Calcutta, Past and
Present (With Illustrations and Portraits).
5. KHUDA BUKSH, S.—Contributions to the History
of Islamic civilisation : Rs. 10.
6. FINN, F.—Garden and Aviary Birds of India (Illustrat-
ed) : Rs. 3-8. .
7. POWER, MAUD—Wayside India (With 32 Coloured
Paintings) : Rs. 18-6.
8. GRIERSON, G. A.—Linguistic Survey of India,
Vol. IV.
9. PEARSON, MISS—Bread, Pastry and Butter-making
in India : Rs. 1.
10. CUNNINGHAM, A.—Book of Indian Eras (With
Tables for Calculating Indian Dates).
11. FRANCIS, W.—Madras District Gazetteer : (Supdt.
Govt. Press, Madras).
12. BRADLEY, SHELLAND—An American Girl in
India (A humorous Picture of Anglo-Indian Life).
13. AIYAR, S. KRISNASWAMY—The Making of
Mysore (Ranade Library, Myslapur).

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

In reply to Mr. Bridgeman, Mr. Morley stated in the House on April 21 last that the total expenditure entailed on the Government of India by the Ameer of Afghanistan's visit was £205,900, made up as follows :—Expenditure directly connected with tour, £124,500 ; military concentration at Agra, £36,700 ; Viceregal visit and Chapter of the Order of the Bath and the Indian Orders at Agra, £44,700.



A Resolution of the Government of India has been issued over the signature of Sir H. H. Risley restricting the participation of students and professors of all schools and colleges affiliated to the Universities of India in active political organisations and demonstrations. This is just the sort of thing which Sir Bampfylde Fuller wanted to do, and in insisting upon which he was made to resign his office of the Lieutenant-Governor of the new province. Strange consistency this, indeed, of Mr. Morley and Lord Minto.



It has been announced that Lord Kitchener will have an extension of service for another two years from November next. As a matter of fact, although his work has been going on steadily enough, there is still a great deal to be done before the full reform which the Commander-in-Chief undertook can be perfected. Practically speaking, Lord Kitchener has set himself to reconstruct the strategic disposition of the Army in India to meet the changed conditions which have arisen since the original dispositions after the Mutiny. He has already done much, and the Army would be able now to move with freedom on the north-west frontier should occasion arise. But the system is not yet complete, and there is much detail to be dealt with. So the extension looks likely to be profitable to the Empire.



The following Notification, dated the 17th instant, appears in the Eastern Bengal and Assam *Gazette* :—

In exercise of the powers conferred on him by Section (2) of Ordinance No. I of 1907 (The Regulation of Meetings Ordinance,

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1907), the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to notify that, with effect from the date of this notification, the said Ordinance shall come into operation in the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Pabna, Rangpur and Tippera, in the Habiganj subdivision of the district of Sylhet, and in the Sadr or Sudharam Thana of the district of Noakhali.

The Punjab Government have issued orders declaring the ordinance restricting public meetings to be applicable to five districts, namely, Lahore, Sialkot, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi and Attock. This covers the Canal Colonies and includes the region where the principal unrest has prevailed.

* *

June 23 next will be the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Plassey, and Lord Curzon appropriately suggests that the occasion should be embraced to wipe out the stain of long neglect by the erection of a monument to Lord Clive, the first founder of the British Empire in Asia. No memorial of the great General exists in India nor in London, though a statue was raised to his memory at Shrewsbury. During Clive's lifetime a statue of him was placed in the India House, but it does not appear to have been transferred to the new India Office. When he was Viceroy, Lord Curzon constructed a railway to the site of the battle of Plassey, and had he remained longer at Calcutta he would have supplemented that by a personal memorial to Clive himself. Should an open-air site be chosen, he thinks Calcutta would be the obvious site and the Maidan the scene; in any case there ought to be a permanent memorial of "the man who at the age of thirty-one planted the foundations of an empire more enduring than Alexander's, more splendid than Cæsars's."

* *

True to their promise the Government of India have invested Rajah Chura Chand Singh with ruling powers in the State of Manipur. The Rajah was only a boy of fifteen years when in 1891 he was nominated to the *guddi* under circumstances which led to the State being occupied by a small Gurkha force. The Manipuris under Senapati Tickendrajit Singh had risen in arms and killed five European officials, including the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Quinton. The disturbance was soon quelled, the administration of the State placed in the hands of European officials, and the young Prince was sent for education to the Mayo College, Ajmere. After finishing his education at Ajmere successfully, the Rajah joined the

Imperial Cadet Corps in which he spent two years more, and was very popular. On his attaining the age of majority, the ruling powers have been handed over to him. Having regard to the circumstances under which the British intervened in Manipur affairs, it does honour to the Government that they have restored native rule to the State.

* *

About two o'clock in the afternoon of May 9 last, Mr. G. A. Cooks, Superintendent of the Punjab Police, who is on special duty in Lahore, accompanied by two junior officers, proceeded to Lala Lajpat Rai's house in Lahore City, where they found a gharri drawn up before the door and the owner talking to a couple of friends outside. Mr. Cooks asked: "Are you Lajpat Rai?" and when this was admitted he again asked, "Is this your gharri?" "Yes." "Then get into it." Without more ado the conveyance was driven to the office of the Lahore Superintendent of Police. Here the party found assembled Mr. Younghusband, Commissioner of Lahore, Mr. Mant, Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Rundle, Superintendent of Police, Lahore District, and a number of European police officers. Lala Lajpat Rai was now made acquainted with the decision of the Government to deport him and at the request of the Commissioner was searched by Mr. Rundle. This over, all proceeded on to the verandah, beside which Mr. Mant's motor-car was waiting. The Deputy Commissioner himself took the wheel. Mr. Rundle got in beside him, Lala Lajpat Rai was placed in one of the back seats, beside which Mr. P. Beatty, Sub-Inspector of Police, took his place; the doors of the car were shut, and in remarkably few minutes the car reached Mian Mir, where Lala Lajpat Rai was temporarily lodged in the quarter-guard of the Gloucestershire Regiment. This was only to be a relief halt, for there was a special train in waiting in a siding and in a very short space of time the prisoner was on his way to Calcutta *en route* to Burma.

* *

The deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai to Mandalay was conducted by the Government with the greatest secrecy. It was not until the Punjabee politician had actually boarded the "Guide," which was lying at anchor at Diamond Harbour to convey the prisoner to Rangoon, that the public came to know of his whereabouts. The long journey by rail from Mian Mir to Diamond Harbour was performed by a circuitous route and every town of importance avoided. The subordinate railway staff were also kept entirely ignorant of the movement, and what ultimately came to be known as Lajpat Rai's

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special train was signalled throughout the journey as the "Railway Board's Inspection Train."



In an underground sewer in Chuckerbere Road, Calcutta, a Municipal coolie let himself down a man-hole about the middle of this month for the purpose of flushing the drain, when suddenly he dropped down unconscious apparently from the effects of the noxious gases inside. Another coolie who was present outside, and did not know the risk he was taking, at once jumped in to his comrade's rescue but unfortunately met the same fate. A large number of men had by this time collected on the spot but were at a loss to find out a means of saving the poor fellows, when a Bengali youth named Nafar Chandra Kundu who was on his way to the bazar came up the scene. Finding no body would venture in, the young man who was of a strong physique undertook the risky task himself and plunged into the manhole. Unfortunately he also was overcome. Consternation now seized the people outside, and as a last resort a rope was let into the pit with the aid of which one of the coolies was pulled up. He was at once sent to the hospital. The other two individuals were not able to avail themselves of the rope, and a man with a rope tied round his waist had next to be lowered through the man-hole (but not before the poisonous gases had been diffused by opening neighbouring man-holes) to drag them up. Every effort was made to save them by inducing artificial respiration, the injection of strychnine, etc., but all proved ineffectual. The self-sacrifice and heroism of Nafar Chandra Kundu, in venturing to save the life of a poor coolie at the risk of his own and in the presence of an enormous crowd, who was looking on this event with helpless surprise, has evoked general admiration in the country and won for his memory the respect and tribute reserved for the truly heroic. Subscription lists have been opened by all the Anglo-Indian papers of Calcutta in aid of the family of the late Nafar Chandra, and contributions are pouring in from all sides for the purpose. The name of Nafar Chandra Kundu will be a proud possession of the Bengalee people for a long time to come.



The following *Gazette of India* Extraordinary was published by authority on May 11, last :—

NOTIFICATION

Whereas an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to

regulate the holding of meetings in the provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam and of the Punjab :

Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by Section 23 of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, the Governor-General is pleased to make and promulgate the following ordinance :—

Ordinance No 1 of 1907—(1) This ordinance may be called the Regulation of Meetings Ordinance, 1907.

2. It extends to the provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam and of the Punjab, but shall only come into operation in such areas (hereinafter called “proclaimed areas”) as the Lieutenant-Governor of each province respectively may from time to time notify in the local official Gazette.

3. Any notification made under Section (2) may in like manner from time to time be amended, added to or cancelled by the Lieutenant-Governor.

(1) No public meeting shall be held in any proclaimed area for the discussion of public or political matters unless written notice of the intention to hold such meetings and of the time and place of such meetings has been given to the District Superintendent of Police at least seven days previously.

(2) Any officer of the police not below the rank of an officer in charge of a police station may by order in writing depute one or more police officers or other persons to attend any such meeting for the purpose of causing a report to be taken of the proceedings.

(3) The District Magistrate may at any time, by order in writing of which public notice shall forthwith be given, prohibit any meeting in a proclaimed area if in his opinion such meeting is likely to promote sedition or disaffection or to cause a disturbance of public tranquillity.

4. Any person concerned in the promotion or conduct of a meeting of which due notice has not been given as required by Section 2 subsection (1) shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both ; (2) any meeting which has been prohibited under Section 3 shall be deemed to be an unlawful assembly within the meaning of Chapter 8 of the Indian Penal Code and of Chapter 9 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General.

H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India.

According to a correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the Ordinance called the Regulation of Meetings Ordinance, 1907, which was issued on Saturday, May 11th, will only remain in force

for a period of six months. Sir Courtenay Ilbert says on this subject : " Under a section of the Act of 1861 the Governor-General has also power, in cases of emergency, to make temporary ordinances, which are to be in force for a term not exceeding six months." And again : " The Governor-General may, in cases of emergency, make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good government of British India, or any part thereof, and any ordinance so made has for such a period, not exceeding six months from its promulgation, as may be declared in the notification, the force of a law made by the Governor-General in Council at a legislative meeting." From this it would appear that the ordinance issued on May 11 should have a specified period during which it is to be applied.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

An interesting White Paper has just been issued showing the growth of co-operative credit societies in India. In March, 1905, we are told, there were only 41 of these societies existing, with a total tiny capital of £3,600. At the same date last year it is estimated that the number of the societies had risen to 482, with a capital of £33,100. Of this sum £22,700 represented loans issued to members. These totals do not include the North-West Provinces, but it is clear that the principle of financial co-operation is rapidly becoming popular in India, and we may hope that it has tended to diminish the business of the village Shylocks who have for generations battered upon the necessities of the poverty-stricken husbandmen.

* * *

According to a memorandum received at the Board of Trade from the India Office, the quantity of beer brewed in India in 1905 amounted to 5,994,955 gallons, of which 45 per cent. was bought by the Army Commissariat. There are 27 breweries, of which one at Delhi did not work. Twenty-one are private property and six are owned by five joint-stock companies with nominal capital of Rs. 24,80,000, of which Rs. 23,89,110 was paid up at the end of 1905-6. Twelve of the breweries are situated at stations in the Himalayas from Murree to Darjeeling, and much of the beer is brewed there. A large quantity is also brewed at Lucknow, Rawalpindi, Poona, Bangalore, Jubbulpore at and near Otacamund, and at Quetta and Mandalay. The largest of the breweries is at Murree, the Kasaul and Poona breweries standing next. More than one-third of the whole production is brewed in the Punjab. The beer brewed in Indian breweries is sold for the most part at prices varying from twelve annas to one rupee a gallon.

In view of the continued unsatisfactory state of the-Chinese yarn market, the Bombay millowners have voluntarily decided to work shorter time. The proposal is to close on Fridays and Saturdays, besides the one day per week already allowed, from now till the middle of June. So far (April 4), 25 of the 37 spinning mills concerned have agreed to take this step, and others are expected to fall into line. If all the mills agreed to limit their output as proposed it would make a difference of 50,000 bales. The disorganisation of the market is attributed chiefly to the steady rise of silver and the consequent lowering of the dollar prices of yarn. Famine and flood have also tended to keep trade depressed. A prominent mill-owner believes the present serious condition of the yarn market will induce mill agents to go still further in the direction of weaving and cater more for the growing demand for Swadeshi cloth. The weaving branch throughout has been more prosperous, and whereas the spindles running have but slightly increased—from 2,500,000 in 1903 to 2,600,000 in 1906—the looms have grown from 23,000 to 29,000.

* * *

Some instructive figures showing the growth of the biscuit trade in Bengal are given in the *Indian Trade Journal*. During the past five years the imports have increased enormously. In 1902-03 the total imports of biscuits into British India were in round numbers 1,700,000 lbs. ; in 1906-07 they were over five and a half million pounds. Of these quantities Bengal in 1902-03 took 390,000 lbs., and last year 975,000 lbs. The latter figure is exclusive of a modest 10,000 lbs. going to Eastern Bengal and Assam. The total value of the imports of biscuits has grown from Rs. 6,74,000 five years ago to nearly twenty-three lakhs in the year just closed. While Bengal took nearly two lakhs' worth five years ago, it now takes over four and a half lakhs. These figures, *The Indian Trade Journal* points out, do not by any means represent British India, for the production of the factories in this country is considerable. The United Kingdom continues to send 84 per cent. of the whole. It is noticeable that the imports of Burma represent a very large share ; in each of the last two years that province has taken over 40 per cent. of the total. It is suggested by our official contemporary that the increased production of biscuits in India is due partly to the purely mechanical nature of the process by which the modern commercial biscuits are made.

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

The really admirable paper on the above subject which Mr. J. D. Anderson read before the East India Association a few months ago has been reproduced in the April number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

Mr. Anderson's sympathies with Indian aspirations are well known, and there are few members of the Indian Civil Service now living who are more sincere in their kindly regards towards the Indian people than he. He begins with the statement that the time has come when further steps must be taken for the political advancement of India. But he thinks that the greatest caution ought to be used. He puts forward as the goal the association to a larger extent of the people of the country in the administration of the country. This subject the writer divides into two parts (1) the larger employment of Indians in the public service, and (2) the extension of the power and numbers of the Legislative Councils. Under the first head, he discusses first those services which require a highly technical training and those which require only general education. Of the first he ventures to say nothing more than that some professional training ought to be given in India and those who are sufficiently promising should be sent to complete their education at public expense in England. Under the second heading comes the ordinary administrative appointments. Under this head he discusses the scheme of simultaneous examinations and Mr. Morison's project of a purely native province. The latter he brushes aside as based on a wrong principle. Speaking of simultaneous examinations, the writer discusses the theory that a sojourn to Europe is a necessary part of education to fit one for the Civil Service and seems to think that the evils of such a travel at a comparatively tender age are scarcely out-balanced by the advantages. He is however against the present method of examination altogether, as, in his opinion, it is not at all satisfactory.

His suggestion is to have a college for the Civil Service in India, on the lines of the Naval College at Osborne—"a college to which both Native and English candidates for the superior service to be admitted." "He would run the college on the lines of one of the chief's colleges—a technical boarding school for young gentlemen

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of both Indian and European races. I hope there would thus be developed, from the first, a hearty professional *esprit de corps*." One rubs one's eyes to read this and see if it be not quite as far off as utopia itself—such a college where black and white will meet as equals in the heart of India.

The selection of candidates in India would be by a mixed system of competition and nomination. In England the recruitment would be as now but only a little earlier in age, two years being then spent in the college. The proportion of recruitment in the two countries should be fixed on a scale which will slowly but surely diminish the proportion of English recruits. Among other things the college will seek to impart a thorough training in the theory of Indian administration and in the social habits necessary for one to take his place in the cosmopolitan Indian society.

The next item of reform, that of the extension of representative institutions, the writer considers, ought to embrace as well an enlargement of powers and authority. The Viceroy's Legislative Council should not continue except as an advisory assemblage on the Mysore model to discuss matters of general Indian interest, for what is required now is local laws for each province with special reference to its amount of progress and not one law for all India. He then furnishes some pointed illustrations of the evils of legislation embracing all India at one sweep.

The writer strongly recommends the enlargement of local councils on a more representative basis. Each district should have a member, and districts like Mymensingh should have two or three. Every town with a population of 20,000 should have at least one member. In special cases the number might be raised irrespectively of population. In great towns these members should be elected; "elsewhere," the writer continues, "they should, perhaps, be nominated, for the present by the District Officer and should finally be selected by the Commissioner of the division." Efforts should be made to ensure cordial relations between district officers and the members for the district "and their relations should be roughly those of *prefet* and *depute* in France."

The next suggestion is the creation of a sort of Upper House—a mere advisory assemblage on the Mysore model, consisting of noblemen and landholders. They will discuss bills sent up by the lower House and approve, sanction, veto or send back bills to the Lower House. One wonders if we in Bengal were not pulling on well enough without the incubus of a fictitious aristocracy. Such landholders as have brains will not refuse to co-

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operate with the people's elect in the same House ; such as have none—and there is a thick crop of them—would be only an oppressive burden on the commonwealth.

The President should be elected and the Executive Government represented by ex-officio members. There should be no parties—a pious wish which would be very good if possible—and legislation should always be initiated by Government.

Next comes the question of representation of minorities and on this matter Mr. Anderson trots forth the favourite Anglo-Indian hobby that the partition agitation was anti-mussulman. The writer refers to Bankim Chandra's "Anandamath" to show that the cry of "Bande Mataram" has an anti-Mussulman significance. But the only fact worth taking into account Mr. Anderson forgets to consider,—whether *Bande Mataram* as used in the anti-partition agitation is at all anti-Mussalman. We would refer Mr. Anderson and people who think with him to read in this connection the very interesting introduction which Mr. Noresh Chandra Sen-Gupta has written for his beautiful translation of *Anandamath*.

UNREST IN EAST BENGAL

Our distinguished countryman, Mr. R. C. Dutt, recently addressed an important letter to the *Advocate of India* on the "Unrest in Eastern Bengal" in the course of which he inquires into the causes of the present tension of feeling between the rulers and the ruled and the Hindus and Mahomedans :

What is the underlying cause of the recent disturbance ? The Swadeshi movement is not the cause ; in so far as it interests the more ignorant Mahomedans, they are rather in its favour as it widens their industries and add to their earnings. The anti-partition agitation is not the cause, the Mahomedans of East Bengal generally like to be in touch with Calcutta, to take their cases to the Calcutta High Court, and to ventilate their grievances with the help of the Calcutta Press and public opinion. These movements do not generally interest the more ignorant Mahomedans of East Bengal much and whoever knows them will tell you that these movements would not excite their feelings or induce them to gather in thousands to demolish Hindu images, make raids into Hindu gatherings, plunder Hindu zamindar's offices, and attack and insult their Hindu fellow-subjects. What are the causes which have led to these unheard-of acts of violence and crime ?

Mr. Dutt goes into the root-cause of the present discontent and, as an old and retired servant of the State, offers some advice to the Government :

Over eighteen months ago, when the partition question was greatly ventilated, much was foolishly written in the papers in creating a Mahomedn Raj in East Bengal, and even high officials dwelt complacently on the Mahomedan predominance in the new Province. I happened to be in Darjeeling on leave at that time, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal did me the honour of consulting me over the Partition question. The moment (I replied in course of a long conversation)

REGULATION 3 OF 1818

that distinction is made between class and class in India,—the moment that one class feels (rightly or wrongly) that it is favoured,—the administrative and political difficulties of the British Government will begin.

To-day, the impression had been spread among the more ignorant Mahomedans of Bengal, (by what agencies I will not stop to enquire) that the British Government will back the Mahomedans against the Hindus to stamp out the swadeshi movement, that the British Government will favour class against class, and sect against sect. Such impression, sedulously spread among the unlettered and excitable people does infinitely greater mischief than the virulence of newspapers which reach the educated only. Then such an impression weakens the foundations of British rule in India which exist more on the people's faith in British impartiality than on the force of arms.

To me the whole situation seems to be graver than any that I can remember since I first entered the public service. Wild newspaper writing attracts our notice,—but that is only the outward symptom of that feeling of unrest and alarm which hangs over Bengal. It is easy to suppress all newspapers; but that will only extinguish the feeble light by which we read public feeling in India; and when there is strong feeling the statesman and the ruler should know it. It is a more sacred duty for the British Government to prove, immediately unmistakably, that it is competent to quell and punish violence and crime from whatever quarter it proceeds, and that it will hold the balance evenly between all classes and sects in India in the future, as it has done in the past. That would be a manly step for a just and a strong Government.

REGULATION 3 OF 1818

The following are the terms of Regulation 3 or 1818, under which the arrest and deportation are carried out:—

A REGULATION FOR THE CONFINEMENT OF STATE PRISONERS

Preamble—

1. Whereas, reasons of State, embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of native princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotion, occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceeding, or when such proceeding may not be adopted to the nature of the case or many for other reasons be unadvisable or improper, and whereas it is fit that in every case of the nature herein referred to, the determination to be taken should proceed immediately from the authority of the Governor-General in Council and whereas the ends of justice require that when it may be determined that any person shall be placed under personal restraint, otherwise than in pursuance of some judicial proceeding, the grounds of such determination should from time to time come under revision and the person affected thereby should at all times be allowed freely to bring to the notice of the Governor-General in Council all circumstances relating either to the supposed ground of such determination or to the manner in which it may be executed; and whereas the ends of justice also require that due attention be

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paid to the health of every State prisoner confined under this regulation and suitable provision be made for the support according to his rank and life and to his own wants and those of his family, and whereas the reasons above declared sometimes render it necessary that the states and lands of Zemindars and taluqdars and others, situated within the territories dependent upon the Presidency of Fort William, should be attached and placed under the temporary management of the authorities, without having recourse to any judicial proceeding, and whereas it is desirable to make such legal provisions as may secure from injury the just rights and interests of individuals whose estates may be also attached under the direct authority of Government :—

“ The Vice-President in Council has enacted the following rules which are to take effect throughout the provinces immediately subject to the Presidency of Fort William from the date on which they may be promulgated.

“ 2 First—

“ When the reasons stated in the preamble of this regulation, may seem to the Governor-General in Council, to require that an individual should be placed under personal restraint without any immediate view to ulterior proceedings of a judicial nature, a warrant of commitment under the authority of the Governor-General in Council and under the hand of the Chief Secretary or of one of the Secretaries to Government, shall be issued to the officer in whose custody such person is to be placed.

“ Second—The warrant of commitment shall be in the following form : “ Whereas the Governor-General in Council for good or sufficient reasons has seen fit to determine that So—So . . . shall be placed under personal restraint at . . . Place You are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council and the provisions of Reg 3 of 1818.

“ By order of the Governor-General in Council.”

“ The warrant of commitment shall be sufficient authority for the detention of any State prisoner in any fortress, jail or other place within the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort William.

“ Under Section 9 of the same Act, the estates and lands of the person so affected might be attached.”

Regulation 3 of 1818 was extended to the Punjab by the Punjab Laws Act, i. e., Act 4 of 1872.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF APRIL 1907

Date.

1. The Pasteur Institute of Southern India is opened at Coonoor.
2. A secret midnight meeting of the Moslem rowdies is held at Mymensingh.
6. A terrible fire breaks out in the Luxmi Cotton Mills at Sholapur. The Bengal Budget is discussed at a meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council at Calcutta.
7. A crowded meeting of the citizens of Bombay is held under the presidency of Mr. Gokhale to protest against the action of Government officials in connection with the Justices election.
An influential meeting of 15,000 people is held at Rawalpindi under the presidency of Lala Hans Raj to protest against the Punjab Land Acts and the enhancement of the canal rates ; Sirdar Ajit Singh delivers a stirring speech.
10. The Hope Mills of Bombay are destroyed by fire.
11. An Indian Research Society is inaugurated in Calcutta.
12. Mysterious arrest of Hindu leaders at Comillah.
13. The Rajsahi District Conference is attended by Mr. Surendra-nath Banerjea who is accorded a right royal reception there. The Bhola sub-divisional Conference is presided over by Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt.
15. The Barisal Day is celebrated at Calcutta, Dacca, Barisal and many other places.
16. The Chief Court of Lahore reduces the sentence passed upon both the Proprietor and Editor of the *Punjabee* to six months' simple imprisonment.
17. The *Hind Swarajya*, a Bombay print, is hauled up for sedition.
18. Mr. Morley states in the Commons that the Imperial Educational Service was intended to be recruited mainly from Europeans.
A second meeting is held at Rawalpindi to protest against the Land Acts and to condemn the measures taken by the Magistrate against the speakers of the meeting of the 7th instant.
21. An infuriated Mahomedan mob breaks the image of Durga at Jamalpur where serious disturbances follow. The Rungpur District Conference is opened this day. An indignation meeting is held at Lahore to protest against the intention of the Punjab Government to acquire the Bradlaugh Hall.
22. Mr. C. Sankaran Nair's appointment as permanent Advocate General of Madras is announced.
25. Some respectable Hindu gentlemen are arrested at Jamalpur.
27. A great *Swadeshi* meeting at Benares is presided over by the District Magistrate, Mr. Radice.
28. The Mymensingh District Conference is presided over by Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter.
29. A vast meeting of the Jain community is held at Gopipura to protest against the proposed erection of Bungalows on the Paresnath Hill.
30. Growing unrest at Rawalpindi.

Reflections on Men and Things

By the Editor

When the history of British rule in India comes to be written, the events of the current month are bound to fill a very important chapter in that chronicle. The deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, the promulgation of an ordinance restricting the holding of public meetings in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal, the Resolution of Sir Herbert Risley directing students and professors of schools and colleges not to take an active part in politics, the prosecution of a boy-editor for sedition these and similar other measures of the Government will give the future historian of India many a blush and qualms of conscience. Lord Minto's reputation as a statesman may not suffer very much on account of these measures, for he has very little to lose that way. Nor may it be difficult to trace in Mr. Morley's statesmanship the element of coercion for, inspite of all his democratic training and love for the 'golden lamp,' he once proved himself to be one of the most cruel Secretaries of State for Ireland. But the reputation that will suffer the most for the events of this month is that of British justice in the governance of India.

Why has England's policy so suddenly changed in India and why has the British lion got so anxious to develop 'tiger qualities' in the East are questions which deserve serious consideration and urgently call for an answer.

In his interesting *Life of Gladstone*, Mr. Morley has the following passage: "England has been able to rule India, Mill said, because this business of ruling devolved upon men who passed their lives in India and made Indian interests their regular occupation." That, no doubt, has been the secret of the success of British rule in India in the past, but does Mr. Morley know that the condition which he mentions with evident approval has ceased to operate in India at the present day?

The 'man on the spot' in India to-day is a remarkably changed man. He no longer 'passes his life in India' or makes Indian interests his 'regular occupation.' He does not live, move and have his being among the Indians; nor does he know the language of the people or care to understand his religion, customs or scruples; he considers it churlish to regard the people of this country

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

as his fellow-countrymen ; he no longer puts his faith on the exploded shibboleth of sympathy and neighbourly feeling. The Anglo-Indian of to-day has his body in this country and his mind in England ; he draws the money of India and spends it at home ; he is nurtured on race-hatred and prides in exclusiveness.

The average Anglo-Indian official—the ‘man on the spot’—has good reasons to be awfully jealous of the influence of the educated Indian and the development of the patriotic sentiment in the country. The ‘man on the spot’ is a shrewd and canny being—though, unfortunately, very much short-sighted and mischievous—and he feels that the predominance of the influence of the educated Indian spells his doom. The educated Indian instructs the people when the Government move at fail to guide him, and the masses of the people have just begun to the instance of the men of light and leading among them. The people boycott British goods because their leaders want them to do so : the people prepare themselves for self-defence because they can no longer rely on British protection. This phase of Indian national life has thrown the ‘man on the spot’ upon his native cunning, and as a result traps have been laid to encompass the ruin of the educated Indian all over the country and minimise his growing influence. The repressive measures of this month have their significance, therefore, only as the desperate attempts of the ‘man on the spot’ to save his position and influence—very much like that of a drowning man to save his life by catching at a straw.

India owes all her present troubles and difficulties, and England the reversal of her policy of beneficence in this country, to the trap laid by the ‘man on the spot’ for the rehabilitation of his lost power and influence. To this trap also, Mr. Morley owes the grave of his political reputation and the Indians the repressive policy which has reached its high-water mark this month.

The deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai is a blunder which no man who knows the people of this country intimately or cares for British fairness and justice can ever contemplate without shame or humiliation. Lala Lajpat Rai may have entertained very strong political ideas, but he was the last man to hatch a conspiracy in darkness and silence. Ardent and sincere, honest and truthful, kind and generous, sacrificing and patriotic to a superlative degree—the ‘British tiger’ could not lay hold of a more gentle and lovable being in all the country to demonstrate its rage and strength. When wrong-doers and immoral men are visited with punishment, then law is glorified. But when the pick and elect of a people are chosen for punishment, then law degenerates into a savage weapon.

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If the Anglo-Indian Government wanted to prove that the arm of the law was too strong for any man in India,—it certainly should not have laid a violent hand upon so saintly and god-fearing a man as Lala Lajpat Rai. Examples could be made of some of those wooden-headed malcontents who masquerade as holiday patriots and are anxious to make martyrdom cheap. But with men of Lala Lajpat Rai's character and strength, all punishments lose their sting and patriotism becomes a dignified privilege. Evidently the 'man on the spot' got hold of a wrong man, and believed in all sorts of foolish yarns spun out by designing men against the Lala to wreak an 'ancient grudge.' That Lala Lajpat Rai had almost succeeded in inducing the Sikhs and Dogras of the Indian Army to celebrate the jubilee of the Sepoy Revolt with another essay in arms and that he had in his hands the threads of a deep-laid design against the Lahore Fort are theories which, no doubt, reflect great credit upon those who invented them, but which no knowing man in India would ever seriously subscribe to. It is difficult to conceive that any wide-awake 'men on the spot' could ever believe such arrant nonsense unless they were completely ignorant of the condition of the country and willingly played into the hands of some consummate knaves. The man who ought to know and does not is as much responsible for mis-government as the man who invents lies and thrives upon them.

On the matter of the liberty of speech also, the 'man on the spot' seems to have magnified the situation through needless panic,—a panic evidently born of inherent weakness of his isolated position in the country and sheer moral cowardice. There has no doubt been a considerable and regrettable abuse of the liberty of speech, both in the Punjab and the Eastern Districts of Bengal, but the license to which it has degenerated could easily have been met by the ordinary laws of the land and did not at all require the heroic treatment which the Government of India have accorded to it. The Rawalpindi, Comillah and Jamalpore riots were the result of a mischievous coalition and local bungling, but they were put forward by the 'men on the spot' as due to general 'unrest.' The Hindus and Mahomedans are fighting between themselves because somebody has set the one class against the other and also because they have some old accounts to square up ; but the 'man on the spot', who is either a fool or a knave, represents the friction as owing to the 'violence' exercised by the Hindus upon the Mahomedans to buy or boycott things against their wishes. The 'honest John' at the India Office

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

swallows this tale and lets the 'men on the spot' propose and have their own remedies.

As for the prosecution of newspapers for sedition, we concede the right of the Government to protect itself from all sorts of violent writings, but, when the permission of the Secretary of State is obtained to bring a lad of 20 to his senses and the matter is flourished forth from the Treasury Benches of the House of Commons, the thing looks ridiculous. We are quite sure that if Mr. Morley had known the age and position of the editor of the Punjab print whose prosecution he has recently sanctioned, he certainly should have thought twice before complying with the request of 'one of the most able and experienced of Indian administrators,' far less from giving it a parliamentary notoriety. But the 'man on the spot' must have kept that significant fact from Mr. Morley's knowledge, and no wonder that he shared the nervous apprehension of the ruler of perhaps the most virile people in India.

We now come to the relation of the Government to the students of the country. Boys are boys all over the world and nowhere under the sun are they taken very seriously. The undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge interest themselves very much in politics and party struggles, but their Chancellors, far less the Home Minister, never take it into their head to punish them for such participation. Even in despotic Russia, where whole Universities are some time in the possession of the military, no ukase has yet been issued on the lines of Sir Herbert Risley's notorious Resolution. Mr. Morley's sanction to Sir Herbert's proposal appears surprisingly inconsistent in view of the circumstances under which Sir Bampfylde Fuller was compelled to resign his office,—but 'the man on the spot' must have all this time dinned into his ears all sort of tales of violence and picketting on the part of Indian students and professors.

From whatever standpoint we may view the situation, there is no mistaking the fact that the 'man on the spot' is the master of it in India. The greatest defect of the Indian administration is that the men who are at the head of it are mere nobodies, as they have no much work to do but put implicit confidence upon the 'man on the spot'—partly because they do not themselves know much or care to know much of India and partly because they are afraid to wound the susceptibilities or the *esprit de corps* of the 'men on the spot' lest they may bring the entire administration into a deadlock. The 'man on the spot' knows the strength of his position in the present scheme of Indian administration, but how long, pray, will, or can, this state of things go on? In England the 'man in

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the street' governs the State ; in India the 'man on the spot' does it. When will wisdom and knowledge and statesmanship begin to govern England and India ?

It appears to us that whatever Mr. Morley's backsliding, from the liberal creed may have been in the past, he seems to have a great opportunity before him in the future. Mr. Morley owes it to the memory of his friend and teacher, Mr. Gladstone, to suppress the 'man on the spot' in India and bring his rule to an end. The thing is getting intolerable—the Anglo-Indian's misrepresentations about India and her people. When a similar state of things had occurred in India during the time of Warren Hastings—Edmund Burke raised his mighty voice against that wrong and purified the Administration for some time of political cant and speciousness. Then, as now, the 'man on the spot' had everything his own way and had his version accepted everywhere in society. Burke would *not* believe the 'man on the spot' and he would have none of his cant. In an interesting conversation between Mr. Morley and the late Mr. Gladstone, a conversation which Mr. Morley himself has preserved in his monumental biography of the great Liberal leader, we read :—

"Mr. Gladstone : I consider Burke a tripartite man : America, France, Ireland—right as to two, wrong in one.

"Mr. John Morley : Must you not add home affairs and India ?
He gave fourteen years of industry to Warren Hastings, and teaching England the rights of the natives, princes and people, and her own duties . . ."

Is it too much to expect that Mr. Morley, a great disciple and admirer of Burke, should teach England, as Burke did, the 'rights of the natives' and suppress the man who successfully stands between good government in India and the contentment of her people ? The real danger and menace to the Empire now is the 'man on the spot,' and the statesman who will sit upon him and see things with his own eyes will do a greater service to his country as well as to ours than the man who will repeat, like a parrot, at the other end of the wire, all the fabrications of the 'man on the spot' and revive for his benefit a barbarous Regulation and promulgate a gagging Ordinance and issue hysterical Resolutions.

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PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

THE CHERRY PRESS

121, Dhurrantollah Street, Calcutta

THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. VI]

JULY, 1907

[No. 28

PERSONAL LIBERTY IN BRITISH INDIA

"Next to personal security," says Blackstone, "the law of England regards, asserts and preserves the personal liberty of individuals," and he regards the right to personal liberty as "of great importance to the public," for, he continues, "if once it was left in the power of any the highest magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomsoever he or his officers thought proper, as in France was once daily practised by the Crown, there would be an end of all other rights and immunities. Indeed some have thought that unjust attacks even upon the life and property of an individual at the arbitrary will of the magistrate are less dangerous to the commonwealth than such as are made upon the personal liberties of the subject. To bereave a man of life or by violence to confiscate his estate, without accusation or trial, would be so gross and notorious an act of despotism that it must convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the whole of the kingdom; but confinement of the person, by secretly hurrying him to gaol where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten is a less public, a less striking and therefore a more dangerous weapon of arbitrary government."

The statutory foundation of this right to personal liberty of British subjects is the Magna Charta of King John which says that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. But even in England this right has had a chequered career and it was greatly endangered by the acts of arbitrary sovereigns inflated with an overweening sense of the royal prerogative. The climax was reached during the days of the Stuarts when Royalty so far forgot itself that warrants of arrest under the Royal Seal were returned by its sanction as a sufficient answer to a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. Against this the Parliament protested, as the people of England did not recognise that even the King had the right to curtail the liberties of his subjects. In

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the "Petition of Rights" they recorded their emphatic protest against this arbitrary interference with the liberties of British subjects. And by that 'Petition' as also by subsequent legislation was strengthened the time-honoured right of the British citizen not to be restrained of his liberties by any manner of means except by reason of a criminal indictment or for a civil debt. The last step in this expansion of the right was reached by the statute 56 Geo III. cap 100, which extended the right of claiming a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to all persons restrained of liberty and not as heretofore to persons imprisoned alone.

It is not necessary to recount the series of enactments by which the rights of British citizenship were extended to British India ; for these rights will be readily admitted and because the law relating to personal liberty of British Indians now stands firmly established on clear and distinct statutory provisions. From the earliest times of British Rule the Supreme Court made extensive use of the writs of *Habeas Corpus* to secure the liberty of persons against attempted incursions on it by the executive. The overzeal of the first Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta sometimes led them to absurd excesses, but its processes undoubtedly strengthened in British Indians an unquestionable admiration for and faith in the justice and love of liberty of English rulers—a sentiment that, more than all the repressive measures and reactionary statutes, has secured the foundation of British Rule in India. The conflict between the Judiciary and the Executive that ensued led to a reconsideration of their respective positions and important measures were enacted in consequence ; but from that time onwards, the right to personal liberty of British Indian subjects has not once been questioned and the methods of coercion by restraint of liberties which British Revenue authorities and the British Executive inherited from Moghul rule have been steadily given up.

At the present time it is undoubted that the British Indian subject enjoys, with the single but important restriction imposed by Regulation III of 1818 and the difference relating to trial by Jury, as complete personal liberty as Englishmen themselves. The right to this liberty is embodied in the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code which demands that every person apprehended for a crime must be produced before a Magistrate within twenty-four hours of his arrest ; the provisions of the Penal Code too secure the liberties of Indians from encroachment except by a process of law and, though in practice the provisions of the law are not unoften stretched to their utmost limits, the provisions relating to bail are

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liberal and civilised enough so as not to permit restrictions to be unnecessarily put upon the liberty of even a person charged with a criminal offence before he is actually convicted by a competent court. To these salutary provisions for the preservation of the liberties of British subjects is added the power of the High Courts even now to issue a writ of *Habeas Corpus* if and when necessary.

As we have seen, to all these safeguards to the liberty of person of British subjects in India there is one most important set-off and that is the famous Regulation III of 1818. Except for that, it might safely be asserted that the ordinary laws of India secure to British Indians the same amount of personal liberty as is secured to Englishmen by the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, the *Habeas Corpus Act* and other subsequent legislations.

From time to time it has been found necessary to suspend the *Habeas Corpus Act* in England in the interests of public security in order to entrust the executive with power to deal with emergencies in a summary fashion. It is curious that the *Statesman* newspaper finds a justification for the Regulation III of 1818 in the fact that it affords a parallel to the periodical suspensions of the *Habeas Corpus Act* in England. No two measures could have been so unlike one another as these, as we shall presently show. And even if they were as similar as they are represented to be, the fact is worthy of notice that the last time that the *Habeas Corpus Act* was suspended in England was in 1817 owing to a panic. The suspension came to an end in 1818 and since that time, the year the Indian Regulation was passed, it has not been found necessary to suspend the *Habeas Corpus Act* in England. In Ireland it was found necessary to suspend the *Habeas Corpus Act* from time to time during the Fenian scare, but even there, the measure has not been introduced for about half a century.

Judged by the standard of events in India too, such a measure, whether it is a suspension of *Habeas Corpus Act* or a Regulation III of 1818, would seem to be quite antiquated. In 1818, it should be remembered, only a small portion of India had come under British Rule, and it was quite possible then for a successful conspirator working in concert with the great ruling princes to altogether overturn the British dominion. Even within the British dominions the rule of the British was only insufficiently established, and deposed Princes like Baji Rao with their hosts of retainers and unbounded influence might stir up any amount of disturbance in the British dominion itself. Even in the Army native sepoys were more than enough to out-balance the Europeans.

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Police administration and the judiciary were yet in an early stage of organisation and, such as they were, they touched only the outskirts of Indian life. Some extraordinary power in the hands of the executive at such a time had some amount of justification—an element which is utterly wanting in an extension of those powers to about a century later when British power, for good or ill, is firmly established, when ruling Princes have been reduced to impotent vassals, when in the Army the white element has been made preponderating, if not in numbers, at any rate in strength, and when the police and the law has become in-woven and inter-woven with the inmost life of Indians through the length and breadth of an exceedingly well-organised Empire.

When in the early days of British rule extraordinary powers were necessary, it would appear they could be conferred only by legislation and the only legislation possible was by means of Regulations passed by the Governor-General in something like what is now known as the Executive Council—legislations hatched in secret and hurled upon the heads of the innocent and ignorant population. Our ideas of legislation have changed since then and if any powers are sought to be retained now they ought to be *renewed* by a statute passed by a full Legislative Council after free discussion.

A glance at the objects with which the Regulation was passed, as well as an examination of its actual operation, will tend to show how utterly unsuited to present requirements that law is, and for what a different purpose it was passed. The preamble says :

“Whereas reasons of State embracing (1) *the due maintenance of alliances* formed by the British Government with *foreign powers*, (2) the preservation of *tranquillity in the territories of native princes* entitled to its protection and (3) the *security* of the British dominions from (a) foreign hostility and from (b) internal commotion occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals &c. &c.”*

The provisions of the Regulation for the treatment of such individuals is summary and Draconic in the extreme, but they were natural in the circumstances in which they were passed and each item of the ‘reasons of State’ has to be read in the light of history in order to understand the exact circumstances which lent them justification. Regarding foreign relations it has to be taken into account that, though Baji Rao had just then been forced to abdicate, the other Mahrattas were yet powerful. The Sikhs in the Punjab were

* The italics and the numbering are ours.

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formidable neighbours, while the recent fight with Nepal had taught the British to respect the fighting qualities of the Gurkha. Alliances had been formed with some of these powers which it was worth the while of all England's powers to keep up without interruption through the machinations of any intriguers. At other places there were creatures of the British Government who had to be kept secure on their *guddee* at any cost. The security of the British dominions too from foreign aggression or from internal commotion were well worth striving for at all costs. For, what with the Punjab thundering at the frontier with its new born powers and Nepal smouldering under a recent insult, not to speak of other powerful native chiefs, Hindu and Mussulman, there was anxiety enough to trouble the British Government about its frontiers. Within its dominions too, the vast regions owned by Baji Rao were only annexed to the British Dominions in the previous year and the administration of that country was fraught with the greatest difficulty. In Northern India, Baji Rao was living at Bithur with a royal entourage; and affairs in Oudh and Rohilkhand, which were a sort of a protectorate, were far from reassuring.

It was these anxious circumstances that first introduced the ill-advised measure for the curtailment of the rights to personal liberty of British Indian subjects which had been recognised by British courts from the first assumption of sovereignty by the British and which were later on embodied in the provisions of subsequent statutes of criminal procedure. On the face of it, it looks absurd to employ the mighty engine forged under such emergent circumstances to the quelling of petty local disturbances by an unarmed population. Any one who reads the resolution with an unbiassed mind will feel that the legislators of those days never had the idea that this law should be put to such an absurd use as a mere substitute of ordinary criminal trials. The emergency of the present case has not yet been made out. 'Reasons of State' forbid the disclosure of the grounds of interference. Meanwhile it is quite patent that the inconveniences attending the *Punjabee* prosecution and the rowdyism of the Rawalpindi mob have scared away the authorities from the constitutional path of open trial. The statute no doubt provides for cases where *from reasons of State* public trials are inconvenient but it was certainly never meant to cover cases of inconvenience in securing evidence or in conducting a case. It was a serious measure and its use as a short shrift to the gaol where government is a party is a perverse and tyrannical measure. It is a confession of weakness on the part of the Govern-

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ment, which, everybody knows, is to-day stronger than it ever was before.

Some light as to the great objects with which the Regulation was passed may be gained from a perusal of the history of its operation. The other day Mr. Morley gave an account of the number of persons detained under the Regulation. "There are now," said he "32 persons under detention or restraint, *most of whom are what are called political detainees such as the ex-Khan of Khelat, the ex-Maharaja of Malapur, persons implicated in the Manipur troubles of 1891 and the ex-ruler of Chitral.* The number of British subjects detained is *very small, they are chiefly Moplas.*"* This about the present state of affairs. In the past, we do not hear of any British subject being so detained before 1869, in July of which year Ameer Khan was arrested under the Regulation. This arrest, as every body knows, led on to the celebrated Wahabi trial. The next important case of an arrest of British subjects is that of the Natu brothers of Poona in 1897. Now, in each of these cases, unprejudiced public opinion will regard the use of the Regulation as an autocratic use of a mighty engine to crush an insignificant disturbance or an imaginary outbreak of mutiny.

It is quite intelligible that the provisions of this Regulation may be applied to important and powerful political chiefs, for political offenders of that sort are not unknown to any country ; but when you take a temporary political trouble of a locality for the outburst of a great political conspiracy and apply your Regulation on a person who is a simple powerless gentleman like any of us, and on people who delight in no better arms than walking sticks, the thing becomes absolutely ridiculous. The history of the last application of this Regulation unmistakably proves the absurdity of the thing. The present Government was evidently led to these antics by fire-eating detectives and was egged on to unearth some very deep laid plot and stem the progress of an alleged revolution by a *coup de main*. In Ameer Khan's case, there was some sort of a sinister movement behind him, but even then it must be granted that the movement left to itself could never have achieved the mighty feats of killing a Viceroy, and a High Court Judge two events which were the immediate results of the transportation of Amir Khan. In the case of the Natu brothers, they were supposed to have been thick and thin with a deep-laid intrigue among Poona Brahmins which was designed to overthrow the British rule and whose first

* The italics are ours.

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symptoms had shown themselves in the murder of Rand and Ayerst. When the hubbub of the disturbances was over, when Mr. Tilak was safely lodged in jail and the murderers of Rand and Ayerst disposed of, the public waited anxiously for some awkward disclosures about some big plot in which the Natus were thought to be implicated. They waited in vain and when all was quiet the Government stole a march upon the public by quietly releasing the brothers without a word of explanation. Now that Lajpat Rai and Ajit Sing have been deported, the *Statesman* and the whole Anglo-Indian press have begun to assume that there must have been grave 'reasons of State' which the Government may disclose in good time. But what past experience makes them hope so they can best explain. The fact is that the sort of secret working which the Regulation encourages inevitably makes the government sell itself to unscrupulous underlings who bring them informations which, not judged in the only way in which truth can come out, may be alarming to any extent at the mere will of the informer. To expect under the circumstances that the original guilt must some day be definitely brought home to the supposed culprit is to expect the unlikely. The lesson of the Popish Plot is forgotten by all who indulge in these dreams. The result is that a man's liberty is tampered with, the equilibrium of Government terribly disturbed, fire and sword hold the sway, and in the end the Government comes out as ridiculous as the famous knight who actually made a charge on a wind mill.

Now, even supposing that the Government has in each of these cases landed upon live rebels, two questions remain to be answered, viz., (1) is it proper that it should resort to this arbitrary weapon of repression and (2) do these measures answer their purpose?

In judging of the first question we of course brush aside the suggestion that it is the purpose of England to rule India, so to say, by the point of the sword. For in that case, the sword would be the only argument with which the Government could be met. But assuming that England wants to rule India on rational lines and on principles of the laws and institutions of England which have from time to time been held up as the ideals of British Rule in India, we have to say that the Regulation III of 1818 is entirely out of tune with these principles. Those who would deny this assert that, in the first place, placing people under restraint is no punishment at all and, secondly, that in the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act* in England we have a precedent which is on all fours with the Indian Regulation in its principles and operation. Grotesque

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as such a view of the case may appear to most of us, that excellent Anglo-Indian daily, the *Statesman*, has put forward this plea as a serious argument. This at any rate would justify a treatment of the question with anything but contempt. Now, first, as to whether restraint is a punishment at all, it is sufficient to say that all who love and cherish liberty look upon the smallest curtailment of it as a grievance and a wrong. The amount of restraint, no matter along with what comfort, imposed upon a state prisoner, if imposed by a private man, would make him liable to civil and criminal action. It is also noteworthy that, in England, lest such restraint should not constitute just the sort of limitation of personal liberty that could be dealt with by law, the Statute 56 Geo. III Cap 100 extends the right to claim the writ of *Habeas Corpus* to persons restrained of their liberty in any way, while before it applied only to persons imprisoned. The *Statesman* says that a man might be a source of danger to the State without his being in any way guilty or deserving of any reproach. That is quite conceivable in a case where a population bears a groundless antipathy to any citizen. To suggest this of Lajpat Rai or Ajit Singh is absurd. Under any other circumstances, to think of the deportation of a British Indian citizen on the ground of his being a source of danger to the State without any glamour attaching to him would be childish.

That it is an infringement of what continental lawyers look upon as a natural right and so far a wrong cannot be questioned. The attempted justification by analogy to the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act* is also frivolous and unsound. For, though in England the *Habeas Corpus Act* has been suspended from time to time as a "necessary measure" when "the State is in real danger," yet, as Blackstone puts it, "the happiness of our constitution is that *it is not left to the executive power to determine when the danger to the State is so great as to render this measure expedient*; for it is the *Parliament only* (or legislative power) that, whenever it sees proper, by suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act for a short and limited time*, can enable the crown to imprison suspected persons," without the possibility of their obtaining their discharge during that period by interference of courts of law. In India, on the contrary, this *perpetual* abrogation of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, as the Regulation really is, leaves with the executive (which here is not responsible to anybody representing the people) absolute liberty to apprehend and put under restraint whomsoever it chooses. It makes the Governor-General the sole arbiter of the gravity of the situation. The order of the Governor-General arresting a person may here,

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at any time and under any circumstances, foil the courts of law and the Criminal Procedure Code altogether, much more dangerously than ever did the arbitrary proceedings of King Charles I before the 'Petition of Rights' was placed on the England Statute Book. Entrusting the executive with such extensive powers of curtailing the liberties of the subjects was always thought dangerous in England and to think that it has its parallel in any act of the Government of England except in the arbitrary acts of the Stuarts, which brought down a hurried Nemesis, is to disregard all history. And it is a noteworthy fact that even in Ireland when the Fenian Revolt was daily embarrassing the Government, the Habeas Corpus Act was never suspended for anything more than one year at a time. In India however the suspension has taken the shape of an abolition placing the alien executive in sole and irresponsible charge of the liberties of 300 millions of people. The *Statesman* has grown wroth that this should be compared to a Russian measure, but it would certainly add to the enlightenment of the world if it could adduce another instance of such an arbitrary legislation within recent times from the history of any civilised and liberty-loving country.

The last point to be considered is whether these repressive measures serve any useful purpose. The verdict of history is an emphatic "no." In England, in spite of all the precautions, the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* has been secured at times to punish righteous causes but it has never succeeded. It would be difficult to point out one instance in which the *Habeas Corpus Act*, suspended in England upon a panic, has really succeeded by itself in preventing or quelling any disturbance. In Ireland the Fenian or Nationalist movement can in no sense be said to have been killed by arbitrary arrests. The mercy shown to Fenian prisoners was more responsible for the collapse of the movement. In spite of the long prior existence of these extensive powers in the hands of the Indian Government, the Regulation III of 1818 could not quell or check or in any way mitigate the ravages of the Mutiny. In the only case in which the Regulation may be said to have been applied with a meagre show of justification viz., that of Amir Khan, it succeeded in laying low a Judge of the High Court and a Viceroy while the Wahabee movement died a natural death from other causes. In the case of the Natu brothers, the success of the measure has not yet been trumpeted to the world, and it remains to be seen how far the deportation of Mr. Lajpat Rai helps to quell the Nationalist movement in India against which undoubtedly it is aimed.

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Mr. Morley seeks to avoid publicity and notoriety of sedition which follows a public trial in such cases ; but he forgets to take into account the vast deal of publicity that arrests under the Regulation in question entail and the martyrdom and public sympathy which inevitably follows the arrest and deportation of the victim. Men who are little known beyond their narrow spheres are magnified into national heroes while the arrests of men of real worth and solid character like Lala Lajpat Rai only stirs up indignation and resentment in a people who have learnt to look upon it as an insult and a blow aimed at them. Public trials may be inconvenient to crafty informers who ply their nefarious trade by traducing innocent persons, but from the broader standpoint of public convenience, a fair trial can never be conducive of more evil than this sort of secret hurrying to gaol.

It is a fact which history proclaims from housetops that this sort of repression never pays. It is the remnant of an archaic system which came into vogue when ideas of administration were yet primitive and the elaborate organisation of civilised governments was unknown. All the good that is sought to be achieved by the Regulation may be obtained by efficient police arrangements, speedy and effective justice, and a judiciary which can be thoroughly relied upon. These are not wanting in India to-day, and to keep up now an archaic law to punish people under special circumstances is an arbitrary use of power which can lead only to the collapse of the State and the downfall of the Empire.

For if this sort of thing is to go on, there is no knowing to what excesses they might lead. If mere inconvenience or impossibility of a criminal prosecution is to be a reason for tampering with the personal liberty of a British Indian, political life in India would have to come to a dead stop and the already strong government will have no sort of check in its onward movement in despotism. The suggestions that have been made of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh amount in fact to nothing more than this. They made some seditious speeches. They roused up some people who admittedly have been wronged to a deep sense of their rights and taught them to protest effectively against oppression. They went about amongst people from whom soldiers were recruited and impressed upon them a knowledge of their rights and liberties. Now if Lala Lajpat Rai was guilty of making seditious speeches, the laws of the land were sufficient to bring him to justice. If a trial in Lahore or Rawalpindi were inconvenient, a quiet and safe district might easily be selected for the purpose. If he roused up soldiers to revolt, he

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should have been allowed to take the consequence of such an offence in a court of law. But if he only taught the people their rights and inspired them with a desire to protest against their wrongs, not by a resort to arms but by passive resistance, we hold, and every right thinking man must hold, that he was perfectly within his rights. If he particularly desired the sepoys to know the wrongs they suffered from and if he held a meeting to instruct sepoys as to their rights and privileges without inspiring them to acts of violence by false and malicious misrepresentation, he was doing a bare duty towards his down-trodden countrymen. If such things turn out, after all, to be a source of danger to the State ; if wrongs are of such magnitude that their very knowledge must be kept from people lest they should rise against them ; if rousing people to passive resistance from a sense of consciousness of wrong is a crime of such grave import as to demand arbitrary repression ; if recruitment for the army cannot go on if the full facts of the case are made known to the people ; if such be the state of affairs in an empire, we make bold to state that verily no Regulation III can save that Empire from its doom. If grievances are of such strength and potency as to rouse people to violence, you have to promptly remove them. To keep them as they are is bad enough ; to open the eyes of the people to them by a series of repressive measures directed against those who preach them is worse still. Mend the wrong, take the people into your confidence, be in touch with them and the agitator will be *powerless*. Keep the sore where it is, gag all expressions of pain, and restrain and restrict all manner of personal liberties, then you will only hasten your pace to the everlasting bonfire where many mighty empires have gone and some mightier ones still might go.

Civis Romanus Sum

THE SIEGE OF CAWNPORE

At dawn on the morning of the sixth of June, 1857, Nana Sahib sent an intimation to the English General that he was about to attack the English in their intrenchment at the head of his own retainers and mutineers. This piece of intelligence fell like a thunderbolt on the English camp. The hapless Europeans had fondly placed their hope of deliverance on the assistance of the Maharaja of Bithoor ; but now to their dismay they learned that the very man from whom they expected most in the time of difficulty had unfurled the standard of hostility against them. Not a moment was to be lost, and all the English officers were sum-

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moned to concentrate themselves within the intrenchment at once. Thus within the feeble intrenchment of 200 yards square, armed with 16 guns and stocked with provisions for less than 30 days, upwards of 1000 persons did take refuge. The earth-works of this intrenchment were little more than 4 feet in height and 3 feet in thickness and were so paltry and weak that they were not proof against the enemy's guns. The selection of such a position as a place of shelter did not speak much in favour of the military talent and the experience of the old general. It is a wonder that the magazine, "which consisted of an immense solid inclosure, containing numerous buildings and an inexhaustible store of guns and ammunition," was not selected as a place of refuge and was left to be captured by the enemy. A native chronicler, Nannak Chund, ingeniously remarks, that the *Sahibs*, as if it were, put a sword into the enemy's hand and thrust their own heads forward.*

The Nana's opportunity had now come. He was proclaimed the Peshwa with all the pomp and splendour of royal magnificence. The newly-created Peshwa publicly declared that he was fighting for the Emperor of Delhi as his feudatory and marched at the head of 3000 men composed of all sorts of people against the English intrenchment. At half past 10 A.M. of the 6th, guns of the rebel army opened a terrific fire against the weak intrenchment of the English. The deficiencies of the position as a place of defence at once became apparent. It was exposed to a continuous and tremendous cannonade from the heavy guns which had been captured a few days before from the magazine. The ceaseless hailstorm of the musketry fell in torrents on the besieged camp. Undaunted, the heroic defenders returned flash for flash and fire for fire and heroically frustrated every attempt of the enemy to push forward. The next day a proclamation was issued for the purpose of rallying round the standard of the new Peshwa all the inhabitants of Cawnpore; but few responded to this call. The beautiful courtesan of the troopers, Azeezun, appeared on a charger, nicely attired in military equipment to encourage the rebels by her presence to fight to the last.

By the end of the first week nearly all of the defenders' artillery-men were killed or wounded. Though thus fearfully reduced in numbers, there was no lack of energy or perseverance in the besieged camp. Never did the sons of Britain fight so nobly against more fearful odds—neither at Fontenoy, nor at

* Trevelyan's *Cawnpore*, pp. 115—117.

THE SIEGE OF CAWNPORE

Arcot, nor even at Waterloo, where in the face of defeat the English had been waiting anxiously for the help of the Prussians. Some of the native troops who among the faithless still remained faithful rivalled their European adherents in their display of bravery and signal determination. These faithful sepoys, who unmindful of the enemy's persuasion, did stick to the line of duty, were not allowed to come within the intrenchment, and were stationed in the hospital barracks unprotected by any means of defence. The native officers of these faithful sepoys went personally to the English general and told him that—"in such a barrack we shall not manage to save our lives, as the round shot will reach us from all sides." But Wheeler did not think it advisable to take these loyal sepoys within his intrenchment. So they remained outside, exposed to the furious cannonade of the rebels. Though thus placed in a disadvantageous position and though thus assailed on all sides by superior odds and incessant fire, those valiant men shrank not—they fought with superhuman valour in this unequal conflict and cheerfully shed their blood doing their last and magnanimous service to the Company Bahadur. But this determined and dogged resistance to the enemy's ceaseless attack was put an end to on the 10th instant by the destruction of the barrack by a hot round shot, which set it on fire. Thus rendered helpless they asked for shelter—but strange! General Wheeler's strict injunction prohibiting natives from entering within the intrenchment stood between their security and a heroic defence. Seeing no other alternative of preserving their lives, they concealed themselves in a *nullah* (ditch), not far distant from the barrack in the darkness of night, and turned their faces towards their homes. Some persisted in their homeward march, others after great trouble succeeded in reaching their native villages, and few only survived to return to the British camp to detail their efforts and sufferings in the early part of the siege.*

Day after day fresh calamities befell the besieged garrison. The building assigned as a shelter for women and children were burned down. The English General achieved a really great feat by sending a message to Sir H. Lawrence eluding the strict vigilance of the enemy. It was couched in this style: "The whole christian population is with us in a temporary intrenchment and our defence has been noble and wonderful, our loss heavy and cruel. We want aid, aid, aid! If we had 200 men we could

* Deposition of Bhoa Khan and Ram Baksh of the 53rd Native Infantry.

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punish the scoundrels and aid you."* It would have been most hazardous for Sir H. M. Lawrence to spare 200 Europeans at that time from Lucknow, as his hand was very full then in stemming the impetuous course of the rebellion in Oudh. The high-minded Englishman thus expressed his sentiments on this point : " I would risk the absence of so large a portion of our small force, could I see the smallest prospect of its being able to succour Sir Hugh Wheeler. But no individual here cognizant of facts, except Mr. Gubbins, thinks that we could carry a single man across the river, as the enemy holds all the boats, and completely commands the river. May God Almighty defend Cawnpore, for no help can we afford. I have sent the pith of this to Colonel Neill to urge him to relieve Cawnpore, if any way possible."† Gradually the position of the besieged camp became hopeless. The heavy fire of the ponderous cannon of the enemy rendered the farther defence of the garrison extremely difficult. The English general now bitterly repented of having sent some English troops to Lucknow some time before. The torture of hunger, thirst and disease added to the ceaseless fire of the enemy and rendered hopeless all further chance of success. The dead weight of the enemy's numbers began to tell heavily on this hapless garrison. Though fearfully reduced in numbers, with their guns made almost unserviceable, their ammunition nearly exhausted and starvation's terror staring them in the face, the heroic defenders of Cawnpore did not give way. Undaunted they stood to their posts to die doing the last signal service to their king and country. Even ladies rivalled their comrades of the opposite sex in the display of heroism and perseverance. In the absence of men to keep watch over a body of prisoners captured in a heroic sortie, the stalwart form of a heroic female was seen walking up and down with a drawn sword in hand before the captives who were bound down by one rope, wrist to wrist ; while other gentlewomen gave their stockings and other valuables for the purpose of supplying a novel case for cartridges. Mowbray Thomson, one of the defenders of the garrison, thus writes on the subject : " In consequence of the irregularity of the bore of the guns through the damage inflicted upon them by the enemy's shot, the canister could not be driven home ; the women gave us stockings and having tapped the canisters, we charged them with the contents of the shot cases—a species of

* Gubbin's *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 443.

† *Further Parliamentary Papers*, P. 66.

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cartridge probably never heard before." These instances of edifying courage, bravery and resignation which redeem the horrors of war, ought to be recommended for deep study and consideration, but the pages of contemporary journals did not do full justice to the immortal heroism of the mighty defenders of Cawnpore.

On the other hand, the rebels swarmed in numbers with alarming rapidity. What was wanting in courage was supplied with numbers. Though craven at heart, the besiegers looked with stolid wonderment on the indomitable courage of the heroic defenders of the famished and reduced garrison. Dissensions broke out in the rebel camp. The Hindu troopers who had no sympathy with the Nana, who had been persuaded to join the fallen cause by threats and persuasions of the artful Azimoolah and Bala Sahib, began to murmur. But the Mahometan soldiery, the most cruel and at the same time the most cowardly, only emptied their fials of wrath on the heads of the English by bluster and threats. Mr. Shepherd, one of the survivors of the Cawnpore garrison, writes with regard to the Hindu troopers: "A promise of pardon and reward to the Hindu portion of the mutineers would have completely gained them back to us, for they appeared to be very sorry for what they had done and were heard to say so to the city people."* However that may be, the Nana had by means of spies learnt the miserable condition which the English in the intrenchment had been reduced to and by this he succeeded in buoying up the drooping spirits of the discordant mass of mutineers. The lovely and charming Azeezan was seen armed *cap-a-pie* in the batteries encouraging the soldiery to fight for her sake. When the favourites of this beautiful creature got tired by remaining for a long time in the brunt of the fight, she was foremost in entertaining them with 'refreshments, milk, etc.' "It is to be hoped," remarks Trevelyan, "that the *etc.* did not include kisses."†

The condition of the besieged day by day became wavering; every false report circulated by the rebels of help faded like a mirage in distance. The valiant Englishmen would have ere long made a sortie and cut their way through the heterogenous mass and disorderly and contradictory elements of their enemy had they not been hampered by the presence of the helpless women and children. When thus at the last extremity

* *A Personal Narrative of the Outbreak and Massacre of Cawnpore*, p. 111.

† Trevelyan's *Cawnpore*, p. 198.

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of despair, there came from the enemy's camp on the morning after 15th a christian woman with a note in the handwriting of Azimullah Khan, attested by no signature. It ran thus : " To the subjects of Her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria—All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie and are willing to lay down their arms shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad."*

The question of capitulation was long and anxiously discussed before the measure was decided on. There was no other alternative, "the choice lay between death and capitulation."† The hopeless condition of the intrenchment, aggravated by the sufferings of the women and children, led to the sad alternative of capitulating to the enemy. Early in the morning of Wednesday, the 24th June, the Nana sent a female bearer named Mrs. Jacob to the intrenched camp offering through her the terms of surrender for the position ; to this the English general replied that the Nana Sahib or some one of his accredited officers should come to the intrenchment, "that the terms of capitulation might be formally agreed to."‡ No time was lost in complying with this request. The next day Azimullah accompanied by Gomala Prasad entered the intrenchment fully empowered to deal with the English general. After mutual demands the terms of the treaty of capitulation were thus stipulated : "That the garrison should give up their guns, ammunition and treasure ; should be allowed to carry their muskets and sixty rounds of cartridges with them ; that the Nana should provide carriage for the sick, wounded, women and children to the river's bank when boats should be in readiness to convey all to Allahabad." On the following day this treaty was ratified. By that very night the English guns were handed over to the enemy and to allay any sort of suspicion Brigadier-General and Prasad with two other attendants appeared at the same time and announced that they were sent by the Nana to remain as hostages in the English camp. Gomala's gentle manners and good behaviour made himself exceedingly agreeable to the English general. The illustrious hostage condoled with the veteran Englishman, expressed his profound sorrow for his prolonged and intense sufferings during the siege and did not conceal his disapprobation of the mutinous soldiery, who unmindful of his love and affection, treacherously turned their arms against their over-beloved general. That very evening the besieged in the intrench-

* Statement sent by the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors.

† Trevelyan's *Cawnpore*, p. 220.

‡ Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol I, p. 335.

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ment were allowed to move freely out of it. Heartily they enjoyed and breathed the pure air of the city by strolling here and there about the neighbourhood with the cheerful delusion that their deliverance was at hand. Alas ! how cruelly their sweet hopes and expectations were to be annihilated.

G. L. D.

THE PRESENT CRISIS AND OUR DUTY*

It is with feelings of anxious solicitude that every thinking man has watched the course of events that have of late swept over this ill-fated land with astounding celerity. The more we reflect on them the more we are convinced of the gravity of the situation and the inexorable necessity of a long pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether to rescue our country from the vortex of ruin into which it is rushing headlong. That there exists a feeling of unrest one who runs may read—a feeling which has filtrated down to the lowest stratum of society.

The vast majority of educated Indians are decidedly moderate in their political views and loyal to the existing Government. There may be violent writings and inflammatory speeches here and there, but the country at large is absolutely impervious to their unwholesome influence. This ferment is due to some particular causes. Bengal is agitated over the partition and the Punjab over some economic and administrative measures. Most of the educated Indians view things quite in a different light from the apostles of the new school. If they had everything their own way, the country would have long ago been plunged into terrible disaster by our fire-eating neo-politicians.

The prices of food-grains and other necessities of life have greatly looked up. This has contributed to the growing poverty of the people and engendered seething discontent. Plague, small-pox and other pestilential diseases are stalking all over the land, counting their victims by millions. A great panic has seized upon the people in consequence. What with chronic poverty and other concomitant evils engendering both mental and physical deterioration, our countrymen have been rendered absolutely *hors de combat*.

At this juncture what is best for us to do? We should put our heads together and resort to a line of action which does not militate against the interests of the country. It is the selection of this line

* This article is written by an intelligent Indian Christian and represents rather faithfully the views of his community. *Ed. J. W.*

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which differentiates the Extremists from the Moderates, the former holding that petitioning to Government will do us little or no good and that we should wrest our rights by force and the latter enunciating a policy of conciliation. Now a man taking a calm, dispassionate view will chime in with the latter because this policy will, beyond the possibility of doubt, enable us to achieve the much desired success, and reach the *ultima thule* of political advancement. To fight the Government and then wrest rights is the height of madness—nay next to impossible. Anyone can see this with half an eye. It is quite evident that the policy enunciated by the moderate party has received the approbation of all right-thinking, sober-minded men who are truly solicitous of the best interests of the country.

Much trash has been spoken and written to exacerbate popular feelings. It is time now that every one should realize the immense harm that is accruing to the country by intemperate and irresponsible language and strain every nerve to restore concord and harmony between the rulers and the ruled. What is most painful is that such a noble and patriotic cause as the *swadeshi*, which aims at the exploitation of the vast natural resources and the development of the moribund industries of this country, should be reduced to a means of disseminating certain political doctrines which the majority of educated Indians openly repudiate. Mischief-making of this kind for the purpose of mere sensationalism, which brings obloquy and discredit upon all constitutional agitations, is too serious to be winked at. *Swadeshi* should appeal to the sympathy of all classes of people being a purely industrial movement, quite divorced from politics, and not as a boycott of British goods. With a view to according an impetus to the increased production and sale of indigenous articles, the people are perfectly justified in using them in preference to foreign manufactures. But this does not mean that they should indulge in violence and fulminate on those who cannot bring themselves to subscribe to their insensate and unreasonable views. Intimidation can never do duty for economic forces. Open and fair competition is the only means by which one industry can hold its own against another.

The boycott is being used in Bengal as a political clap-trap to win popular applause while its true significance cannot be anything but commercial or industrial rivalry. Germany is a living example before us of splendid commercial and manufacturing activity. In commercial struggle she has smitten England hip and thigh, and to all intents and purposes ousted a large part of her goods from the world's market. How has she established this commercial supre

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macy ? Certainly not by cursing and burning British goods ! Whether an article is used or destroyed, so long as it is paid for, it means gain for the dealer. But if you can preclude its sale by putting one of your own make in the market, you do the *real* boycotting. This is not what the apostles of the boycott propaganda are doing. Their industrialism finds vent in ceaseless vituperation. Burn foreign goods, hate foreigners, and you are sure to effect the regeneration of India. This is their cardinal doctrine.

It is writ large in the pages of history that no nation has ever prospered on the gospel of hate. It only shows a woeful deterioration of the moral stamina. Those of our countrymen who are today shouting from the platform for autonomy have quite forgotten the two principal virtues—self-sacrifice and unceasing devotion to work without fuss—which are the quintessence of all religions and the corner-stone in the stupendous fabric of our moral code. They can never expect to effect the regeneration of their country unless and until they cultivate these virtues—unless and until they apply the search-light on their own conscience and see their deficiencies and make amends for them.

But ours is not entirely a political or industrial struggle. Indian economics stands almost synonymous for Indian agricultural improvements. Nearly 80% of our people depend upon agriculture for their subsistence and are always on the brink of starvation because they are innocent of scientific agriculture. Our political reformers should therefore devise means to better the condition of those who constitute the backbone of our nation. Any scheme of nation-building which does not regard this as a paramount factor is sure to collapse and should be treated with supine indifference by all. There is plenty of raw materials in our country. In point of mineral wealth she yields the palm to none. Hundreds of acres of land are also lying fallow all over the country and it requires neither much capital nor labour to convert them into sources of profit. The first and foremost duty of our leaders is therefore to educate the people and show them how to tap all these sources of untold wealth.

The last point to which our attention should be directed is the general education of the Indian masses. The classes have received some education and turned it into very good account : the masses are still lying steeped in dense ignorance. The intellect of the people has got to be trained ; the masses have to be levelled up. The Government owes a grave duty in this matter and no pressure can be too strong to bring it to recognise this most important function.

R. MAULIK

SELECTIONS

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN 1906-1907

CONTINUED EXPANSION

A succession of good years, following upon a prolonged cycle of bad seasons, has raised the foreign trade of India to a level never before attained, or even approached. It is true that during recent years some provinces have experienced chequered fortunes—cold and frost in the provinces of North-Western India, crop failures in Madras, and floods in Eastern Bengal and Assam having at one time or another brought trouble and loss to the agricultural community. Plague, too, has ranged with fury, particularly in the Punjab and the United Provinces, the produce of which contributes so largely to the foreign export trade. But there are usually compensations, and 1906-7 furnished no exception to the general rule. The net result was that both the imports and the exports of merchandise showed an advance of 37 per cent, on the totals of 1902-3, a very marked gain for a period of four years.

The following are the trade totals for the last five years (in millions of pounds, at 15 rupees per £) :

	1906-7.	1905-6.	1904-5.	1903-4.	1902-3
Imports of merchandise	78·2	74·7	69·6	61·7	57·2
Net imports of treasure	25·9	10·8	15·4	15·7	10·5
Exports of Indian merchandise	115·4	105·6	102·9	100·1	84·3
Re-exports	2·4	2·4	2·2	2·2	2·0

The figures include Government as well as private transactions. The inclusion of Government stores is justified by the fact that the imports, which alone are of any magnitude, consists for the most part of railway plant and rolling stock and other articles of a commercial character.

The figures given above show that the total trade in 1906-7 amounted to about £222,000,000, but if the gross imports and exports of treasure were given the grand total would be approximately £230,000,000. But whichever figure be taken, the amount is unprecedentedly large. The increase in imports of merchandise rose about 9 per cent. On the whole, the import trade is more

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN 1906-1907

steadily progressive than the export, as regards both the totals and the items constituting the totals. Again, all the sea-board provinces enlarged their imports last year, while there was a large decline in exports from Bombay and a small decrease in those from Burma. Part of the great rise in exports was due to the high rate of prices for certain leading commodities. Thus Bengal gained greatly by the abnormal price of jute and the improved position of tea. The new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, with its rising port of Chittagong, shared in the profits on these two articles. The progress in the total trade was made the more striking by the heavy net imports of treasure.

So far as the foreign trade returns can be regarded as an index of the condition of the people, they point to prosperity. The imports of cotton goods and sugar have been on a scale altogether unexampled, while the advances under spices, tobacco, provisions, gold and silver, glassware, paper, stationery, &c., indicate an improving standard of comfort. The *Swadeshi* movement, in its bad sense, —the boycotting of foreign goods—has had no effect on imports as a whole, and even the articles specially aimed at, cotton goods and sugar, have entered to an unparalleled extent in the last three years. The good side of the *Swadeshi* movement, the development of indigenous industries, is seen in the increased imports of textile machinery and metals.

IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE

Although India's important articles of import are few in number—cotton goods and yarn constituting about three-eighths of the total of private merchandise, and metals and metal manufactures one fourth—there are many others of increasing amount.

COTTON GOODS

For the third year in succession India absorbed an enormous supply of cotton goods from Lancashire, in spite of the fact that much larger quantities of indigenous cotton manufactures were placed on the market by the Indian mills. The magnitude of this trade is revealed by the following figures, showing the progress of the cotton imports for the last five years (in millions of pounds):

	1906-7	1905-6	1904-5	1903-4	1902-3
Cotton Manufactures	25.13	26.02	23.71	19.24	18.77
„ Twist and Yarn	2.15	2.28	1.66	1.43	1.53
Total	27.28	28.30	25.37	20.67	20.30

It is only in coloured piece-goods, cotton hosiery, and a few minor manufactures, that foreign countries—chiefly Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Italy—encroach on the huge business of Lancashire.

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The yarn trade, which once appeared moribund, has revived during the past three years, and there has been an advance in white yarn. In coloured yarn a decline occurred in 1906-7.

How large the increase has been in piece-goods imports will be apparent from the following table representing the trade in the different categories during the last 18 years :

	Grey.	White.	Coloured &c.
Average imports, 1889-90 to 1893-94	1,223'5	368'6	374'2
" " 1894-95 to 1898-99	1,209'8	418'6	351'5
" " 1899-1900 to 1903-4	1,204'5	469'7	430'6
Imports, 1904-5	1,210'2	584'3	493'9
" 1905-6	1,348'8	572'8	541'7
" 1906-7	1,298'5	495'0	524'3

At one period the imports of unbleached goods seemed to be declining as the output of the Indian mills increased, but in 1905-6 a tremendous spurt occurred through the heavy demands from Bengal, and although a reaction took place last year, the trade was much above the average. In white goods the high-water mark was reached in 1904-5, but in the succeeding years business has been considerably above the old level. In coloured, printed, and dyed goods, more fluctuation is noticeable, but in these, too, there has recently been great activity, and, although the quantity imported last year was somewhat smaller, the values were higher. Of the piece-goods no less than 98 per cent. came from Lancashire. All provinces imported more cotton goods in 1906-7, with the exception of Bengal, which had purchased more than one half on the record imports of 1905-6.

METALS AND METAL MANUFACTURES

In all important branches of this trade, business was brisker than in 1905-6, except that a slight fall occurred in the value of copper, the imports of which have been restricted owing to abnormally high prices. In iron there was a large increase, particularly in galvanized sheets and plates. Steel imports were about the same in value as last year, but much above the figure of 1904-5. In iron foreign competition, with the United Kingdom is not very severe, but in steel Belgium and Germany are serious rivals. The former of these far surpassed the United Kingdom in steel bars, and shared on almost equal terms the trade in steel girders, bridgework, &c. In some descriptions of steel this country appears to be regaining its old position, but there is still much lee-way to make up. In hardware and cutlery, also, Continental and American competition

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE IN 1906-1907

persists, though two-thirds of the miscellaneous articles included under that had come from this country. The steady and considerable advance in machinery and millwork in recent years testifies to the progress of cotton jute, and rice mills and to mining development. In railway materials for State and private lines there was an increase from £4,492,000 to £5,661,000, most of the increase being in rolling-stock, of which large quantities are being supplied in response to the urgent demands for transport. The extension of up-to-date methods among the natives is seen in the constantly growing imports of sewing machines, the value of which in 1906-7 was approximately £80,000.

SUGAR

The sugar imports, which have expanded so greatly in recent years, made further strides in 1906-7, when a poor home crop coincided with abundant supplies of foreign sugar at cheaper rates. The imports of refined sugar rose from 7,367,104 to 9,222,529 cwt., while those unrefined rose from 904,025 to 1,882,687 cwt. The increase in the two combined was no less than 34 per cent. The supply of cane sugar was mainly derived, as usual, from Java and Mauritius, while beet sugar came principally from Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The following figures show the course of the trade of refined sugar for the last five years :

	1906-7	1905-6	1904-5	1903-4	1902-3
Cane—					
Java ...	2,840	1,399	2,003	1,336	574
Mauritius ...	2,270	1,977	1,797	2,617	1,916
Other countries	309	558	918	1,532	1,040
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total—Cane	5,419	3,934	4,718	5,485	3,530
Beet—					
Germany ...	2,001	712	176	7	146
Austria-Hungary	1,617	2,341	1,441	1,299	888
Other countries	186	380	99	247	424
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total—Beet	3,804	3,433	1,716	553	1,458
Total Refined Sugar	9,223	7,367	6,434	6,038	4,988

The outstanding features, besides the general upward trend, are the tendency of Java and Mauritius to control the cane sugar business and the tendency of Germany or Austria-Hungary to monopolize the supply of beet sugar. At the time when the enhanced countervailing duties checked the imports of beet sugar Java poured large quantities of cheap cane sugar into India, and she

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has now succeeded in outstripping Mauritius, her great competitor in cane sugar. In beet sugar Germany has out-distanced Austria-Hungary, which, by the aid of subsidies in the form of low rail and freight rates and repayment of Suez Canal dues, had kept well ahead of other countries. The average price of imports of refined sugar in 1906-7 was only 11s. 4d. per cwt., as against 13s. 1d. in 1905-6. A remarkable feature of last year sugar trade was the increased importation of unrefined sugar and molasses from Java and Mauritius, clarified molasses having been found to be well adopted for making the cheap sweetmeats so widely consumed by the masses. It is regrettable that India should be under the necessity of buying from abroad such large quantities of sugar. But the native sugar is dearer and inferior. Efforts, however, are being made in the United Provinces, which produce more than half the sugar of India, to improve the cultivation, and also to economize the cost of extracting the juice from the cane by the adoption of improved sugar mills. In Bengal, another great sugar province, production on a large scale in up-to-date factories is being tried. A richer variety of cane, a larger out-turn, and reduced expenses of manufacture are required before Indian sugar can effectively compete with foreign.

MINOR IMPORTS

For many years imports of mineral oils have declined, but last year there was some recovery in the trade. Russian supplies, formerly predominant, have fallen to a low level since the troubles at Baku, and America has made efforts to regain her former high position, while the Dutch East Indies have strengthened the position they recently obtained. All kinds of liquors declined, especially spirits, on which a higher duty became chargeable in 1906. The trade in provisions is constantly increasing and the natives are said to be consuming considerable quantities of biscuits and condensed milk. After several years of rapid growth the trade in cigarettes slackened, though the total was over £300,000. The manufacture of cigarettes from imported tobacco is being undertaken in India. The imports of aniline and alizarine dyes amounted to about £500,000, practically all of which must be credited to Germany. In apparel there was a slight decline, effecting mainly the United Kingdom, which secured hardly one-half of the total. Silk goods also declined, except as regards piece-goods, of which Japan supplies the major part. In all the leading classes of woollen goods trade was worse, one striking feature being the decline in shawls from Germany to £87,000 as against £312,000 in 1904-5. In the large trade in glass and glassware the United Kingdom had only one-

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seventh of the total, the bulk being absorbed by Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Belgium. The growing popularity of motor-cars, cycles, and wagons in India is seen under the fast increasing heading of "carriages and carts," which amounted to £617,000. Instruments and apparatus, salt, spices, matches, earthenware and porcelain, paper, and paints were among the many articles which India purchased more freely, while there was a falling off in precious stones, raw silk, and timber. An advance in coal imports was accompanied by an increased output from the Indian mines, and a considerably enlarged export of Indian coal. Not only was more coal absorbed by Indian railways and factories, but the exports increased from 595,000 tons in 1904-5 to 940,000 tons in 1906-7.

EXPORTS OF INDIAN MERCHANDISE

The great importance of India as a producer of food and raw materials is once more made apparent by her exports of jute, rice, cotton, seeds, &c., in the year just closed.

RAW JUTE AND JUTE MANUFACTURES

Extraordinary as the jute trade was in 1905-6, it was still more wonderful in 1906-7, when jute, raw and manufactured, formed nearly one-fourth of the total exports. The following table shows the exports of raw and manufactured jute in the last five years.

		RAW JUTE		Jute	
		Quantity	Value	Manufactures	Total Value
		'000 cwt	'000 £	'000 £	'000 £
1902-3	...	13,036	7,418	6,013	13,431
1903-4	...	13,721	7,812	6,313	14,125
1904-5	...	12,875	7,977	6,626	14,603
1905-6	...	14,480	11,417	8,299	19,716
1906-7	...	15,970	17,892	10,477	28,369

It will be seen that the total value of jute and jute goods exported in 1906-7 was nearly twice as great as in 1904-5, and about 44 per cent. greater than in 1905-6. The increased value was due to the enormous demand, for there was no shortage in the crop. Never before did the cultivators reap such gains. The mills, too, in Calcutta and Dundee and in Germany had successful years in spite of the dearness of raw material. The chief purchasers of raw jute were the United Kingdom (6,860,000 cwt.), Germany (3,460,000 cwt.), all of which bought larger quantities than in the preceding year. Complaints of fraudulent watering of jute seem to have been less frequent, perhaps owing to the public attention that was drawn to this abuse. Proposals to legislate against the adulteration do not appear to find much favour in commercial

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circles. The old cotton Frauds Act was a failure, and it is realized that those who buy watered jute do so with their eyes open. While in raw jute all previous records of price were eclipsed, the advance in jute manufactures was much smaller. Thus, while raw jute advanced 10 per cent., in quantity and 57 per cent. in value, jute bags advanced $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in quantity and 21 per cent. in value, and gunny cloth about 6 per cent., in quantity and 31 per cent. in value. The Indian jute mills, though prosperous, were by no means free from anxiety. The high price of jute and the high bank-rate combined made the financing of the mills a serious item, while dear coal and scarcity of labour increased the difficulties of the mill-owners. Several new mills would have been started but for the lack of skilled labour. Recently prices have improved and Hessians, of which America is the chief purchaser, and 50 per cent., higher than a year ago, while the continuance of a strong demand promises still higher prices and greater profits. On the other hand, the demand for sacking has been smaller, owing, it is supposed, to a wider use of second-hand bags, to the competition of Dundee and the Continent in foreign markets, and to a smaller demand in India. It should be added that the largest buyers of gunny bags were the United Kingdom, 33·9 million ; Australia 42·9 million ; the United States, 25·8 million ; China, 24·4 million ; Chile, 22·9 million ; Egypt, 12·6 million, and the West Indies, 10·7 million out of a total of 257·7 million ; while the United States bought 479·4 million yards, Argentina 97·2 million yards, and the United Kingdom 62·2 million yards, out of a total of 696·1 million yards of gummy cloth.

RAW COTTON AND COTTON MANUFACTURES

India's most valuable fibre, cotton, found a ready sale. The quantity of raw cotton exported was 7,396,591 cwt., or only 56 cwt. more than in 1905-6, but the value was £14,643,782, or £421,802 greater. England bought only about 6 per cent. of the total, probably for re-export mostly, the principal buyers being Japan (1,728,958 cwt.), Germany (1,648,349cwt.), and Belgium (1,100,969 cwt.), with Italy, France, and Austria-Hungary following. Much attention is being devoted to the extension of cotton cultivation in India, and this season there has been an increase of 1,272,000 acres under the fibre. The condition of the crop is reported good on the whole, and a much larger outturn may be anticipated. Experiments are in progress for the production of Egyptian cotton in Sind, and the quantities so far placed on the market have yielded good prices. About one-half of the raw cotton produced is required by the Indian mills, which have been enlarging their plant and ex-

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panding their production of yarn and piece goods, especially the latter. Too exclusive attention has hitherto been devoted to the China yarn market, with the result that the trade suffered in 1906-7. Famine in China, fluctuations in exchange, and the competition of yarn produced in Japan or in China itself reduced the demand for Indian yarn, and the Bombay mill industry, after a year of brisk trade, has been passing through a period of depression. China also purchased smaller quantities of cotton piece-goods. Some compensation was found in larger purchases of yarn by Egypt, Aden, Turkey in Asia, and Persia, while the Indian market took considerable quantities of cloth, the quality of which has improved.

RICE, WHEAT, &c.

The rice trade has somewhat fallen away, the exports last year being 38·7 million cwt. as against 43·0 million cwt. in 1905-6, but the value in 1906-7 was £12,350,000 as against £12,425,000 in 1905-6, so prices were considerably higher. The export trade, in fact, fell off largely owing to a diversion of Burma rice to Bengal and some other parts of India where prices ranged high. Japan was a much smaller purchaser, while Germany bought considerably more. The wheat trade was also smaller, but the decrease in weight was not compensated by an increase in values. The United Kingdom bought seven-eighths of the total. The fluctuations in India's wheat exports are extraordinary, as the following figures show :

		Million cwt.				Million cwt.
1897-8	...	2'39	1902-3	...	...	10'29
1898-9	...	19'52	1903-4	...	...	25'91
1899-00	...	9'70	1904-5	...	...	43'00
1900-1	...	0'05	1905-6	...	...	18'76
1901-2	...	7'32	1906-7	...	...	16'04

Indian wheat, in fact, is an uncertain article of trade, as regards both supply and demand. The chief wheat areas are subject to great seasonal variations, though a partial remedy has been found by the extension of irrigation. The foreign demand for Indian wheat is not constant, and it is mainly confined to England, which buys it chiefly when other sources of supply are deficient. Again, Indian wheat is required at home in bad years. One great impediment to the export trade has been removed during 1906-7. The Indian merchants and the corn buyers and millers in England have arranged a form of contract for buying wheat on a "pure" basis, and it may be hoped that complaints of Indian wheat impurities will now come to an end. The new crop is reported good, and

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India may be able to make up the deficiency in wheat reported from America and Canada.

TEA AND COFFEE

It is long since the tea trade enjoyed so prosperous a year as that just closed. After years of over-production, due to extension of cultivation and coarse plucking and a stagnation of demand through enhanced taxation in this country, a period of prosperity at length dawned in 1906-7. With a limitation of the area in India and Ceylon, a good average crop with a smaller proportion of low-grade teas, diminished taxation, and an expansive demand at home and abroad, prices improved, in spite of the fact that there was a record trade and 20 million lb. more were exported. Of the total, 232.3 million lb., the United Kingdom bought 175.5 million lb. (an increase of 10 million lb.), while other large buyers were Russia, 13.5 million lb ; Canada, 14.3 million lb. ; and Australia, 9.5 million lb. Russia, however, purchased tea indirectly, and the experts set down her total takings at nearly 20,000,000lb., including the tea that goes *via* Vladivostok. A marked feature of the year was the growth in the direct shipments of tea by Calcutta to foreign countries, the increase being 10,000,000lb., making a total of 56.9 million lb. (or four-fold the shipments nine years ago). Of the shipments to London, some 20,000.000lb., were re-exported. Now that the demand for tea has outstripped the supply the future of the tea trade is very promising, if the planters maintain the quality. The prospects in the Russian and other foreign markets are good. Unfortunately, Indian coffee suffered from a bad season, while a heavy Brazilian crop depressed prices.

HIDES AND SKINS

There was a great advance in the prices of hides, owing to the enhanced demand, which affected even low-grade hides. Of raw hides the largest purchases were by Austria-Hungary, the United States, Italy, and Germany while this country took only 7 per cent., of the total. There was also a rise in dressed hides and skins, which were taken chiefly by the United Kingdom, though the United States was also a purchaser.

SEEDS

The seed business is one of the largest branches of exports. In 1906-7 the linseed trade fell to a low level, the exports being only 4,378,826 cwt., against 11,182,009 cwt., two years earlier, but the balance was redressed by advances in castor, cotton, rape, ground-nuts and gingelly. The progress in cotton seed, a comparatively

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new trade, is important, and last year's export amounted to 4,390,742 cwt.

INDIGO, LAC, MANGANESE ORE, &c.

A better season as regards Madras indigo and a slight rise in prices, the first for a long period, lightened the gloom of the indigo market. There were larger purchases by the United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary, Turkey in Asia, Persia, and especially Japan, the revived trade with which has inspired fresh hopes. The demand for lac for electrical and other purposes still continued particularly in the United States, and prices were maintained at a high level. Last year there was a decline in quantity with an increase in value. The exports of manganese ore rose from 6,333,881 cwt. to 9,859,855 cwt. and further developments may be anticipated. The dearth of jute may possibly account for the fast increasing exports of another valuable fibre, *sunu* hemp, the exports of which rose from 439,400 cwt. in 1904-5 to 598,500 cwt. in 1906-7. There was an active demand for raw wool at record prices, and most of it went to the United Kingdom. Among other articles that showed improvement were coir, saltpetre, mica (an increase in two years from 19,575 cwt. to 51,426 cwt.), tobacco, manures, and raw silk, but oils, pepper, teak, opium, ricebran, and oilcall fell off. (*The Times*)

THE PUNJAB COLONIES AND THE ANTI-BRITISH AGITATION

The recent announcement that the Viceroy of India had withheld his assent from the Punjab Colonization Bill appears to have given rise to some misapprehension in this country as to the nature of the proposed legislation and the opposition which it has excited. In order to make the situation clear, it will be well to state briefly the origin and the present circumstances of the canal colonies with which the Bill proposed to deal. Some account of them was given in *The Times* of October 3, 1904, and on May 30 last a very excellent and full description of them was given in a paper read before the Society of Arts by Mr. Lawrence Robertson, of the Indian Civil Service. His paper is too long for quotation in the columns of a newspaper, but we cannot do better than state in abstract the uncontroversial matters with which it dealt. Fifteen or 16 years ago the three great tracts which now form the prosperous colonies of the Chenab and the Jhelum, in the Punjab, and Jamrao, in Sind, were arid plains, unculturable for want of water. They were practically uninhabited, except by a few nomads. The splendid works carried

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out by the Irrigation Department enabled the hitherto wasted surplus of the Punjab river to be brought on to this land, which was known to be fertile if only the water difficulty could be got over. The new canals command an area not differing greatly from the entire cultivable area of Egypt. Having got the water, the Government set to work, through special officers, to demarcate the available land into squares for allotment to colonists, the square of 27, 25, or 16 acres being the unit usually made over to each peasant colonist. The yeoman received three or four squares, whilst larger areas, up to 500 acres, were sold outright, with full proprietary rights, to capitalists. To the colonies the peasant class was the most important, and the yeoman next in order. In both these cases personal residence is a condition of the land grant. Neither the peasant nor the yeoman acquires absolute proprietary rights; but when he has complied with the conditions of his grant as to area brought under cultivation, and has shown, by a probationary period of three years, that he is a *bona fide* resident colonist, he acquires a right of occupancy, heritable but not transferable by mortgage or sale. The colonist is thus protected against his own tendency to fall into the hands of the money-lender. The capitalist is in a different position, and does not require the same protection against his own extravagance.

When the Chenab Colony became available, the colonists were soon found in the neighbouring districts of the Punjab, where an overgrown population was already feeling the pinch of land hunger. Had migration been allowed unconditionally, the new colony would soon have been swamped with individual adventurers streaming there in search of land, only, perhaps, to be disappointed, owing to the failure of their unaided labour to cope with the difficulties of the new life. Instead of allowing this, the Government selected the colonists with the greatest care. The principle adopted was the importation of groups of caste fellows of the same neighbourhood, who moved down bodily with their families, their cattle, their implements, and representatives of the village artisans. The new village community in the colony was thus practically a reproduction of that which it had separated from in its earlier home. Men found themselves working in the new settlement, not as individuals, but as members of a body of relatives, friends, or neighbours, able and organized to work together. They were assisted by Government advances repayable on easy terms; they were allowed to take the whole profits on their cultivation until their holding was well advanced in development. The canal water was brought to the edge of each man's holding, over which he had to arrange for its

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distribution himself, and he received water free of charge for two harvests. Of course, the colonist had difficulties to overcome at first in breaking up the land, in dividing it into plots, which facilitated measurement and prevented fraud by subordinate *employes*, and in providing himself with a residence in the village sites, of which there were one or more to every village area into which the colony was parcelled out. But the first settlers, as it happened, could be drawn from the very flower of the Punjab cultivators, and their success, due to their own energy and the liberal assistance of sympathetic colonization officers, was so marked that the fame of the colonies soon spread, and the demand for land was greater than could be supplied. The original Chenab colonists were solely cultivators. Later on, in parts of the Chenab Colony and throughout the Jhelum Colony, cultivation was combined with the breeding of horses or camels for army purposes, each settler being required to keep a brood mare of approved stamp, on whose progeny the Government had a call at reasonable prices. The colonies, from uninhabited wastes, have now become well-populated tracts, covered with flourishing crops. Everywhere there are villages which, while retaining their native characteristics, are yet brought into harmony with elementary Western requirements of sanitation and order. In places large towns have sprung into existence. In the Chenab Colony alone the population, a year ago, was 858,000, against the few hundreds of nomads who formerly frequented it. The value of the crops grown on this land, of which the Government was formerly absolute owner, is probably now not less than five or six millions sterling, and, as far back as 1903, the colonists of the Chenab exported, by the railways which serve them admirably, grain estimated at 2¾ millions sterling. In addition to the colonists already described, provision has been made for the reward, by land grants, of old and valued Indian servants of the State, as well as for classes providing some of our best soldiers. For further details of the colonies themselves we must refer the inquirer to Mr. Robertson's paper. It is surprising, at first sight, that these colonies which are amongst the greatest boons which the British Government has conferred on a great body of the Indian population, should have lent themselves to the fomentation of discontent and agitation against the Government. What has been said re regarding the feverish demand for land will show that the cause does not lie in the terms of the grants, or in any enhancement of the demands of Government. That is a view which appears to have been accepted by many who might have been expected to be better informed. What has really

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happened is this. Hitherto the work of colonization have been carried on, as a great and successful experiment, by administrative methods, rather than on any very definite legal basis. As the experiments progressed, experience showed the necessity for various modifications in the original methods. The provision of funds for sanitary improvements, insistence on the aid of the colonists in planting trees, the limitation of their rights to wood on Government land were some of these. Others were the limitation in the proximity of the heirs to whom occupancy rights might pass by inheritance, and the necessity for insistence on observation of the conditions of grant, especially as regards residence in the colony. In the case of new colonists all these conditions could be made part of the contract, and there was no difficulty in doing so. But it was thought better to put the whole matter on a definite legal basis, which was the object of the Bill now shelved. It was twice considered by the Indian Government and the Secretary of State before being brought before the Punjab Legislative Council. There it was still further modified as the result of official and unofficial criticism and in deference to the opinion of Indian members. It contained no provision whatever dealing with taxation. The colonist, like every other Indian cultivator, is ignorant and suspicious, and he believed that this new Act was aimed at the curtailment of the rights which he had originally been granted. That belief was doubtless fomented by the misrepresentations of professional agitators. The Government certainly had no such desire. The member in charge of the Bill, after describing the success of the experiment, said :—"Is it likely, is it even imaginable, that we should deliberately set our hands, I do not say to destroy, but in any way to mar, that great fabric of which we are so proud?" The argument seems unanswerable but it is undeniable that unrest and suspicion have obtained a footing amongst the colonists. With the suppression of seditious agitators, added to the evidence of the colonists' own eyes that there is no attempt by Government to break faith with them, it may be hoped that suspicion may shortly be allayed, and it may then be appropriate to introduce a new regulating Act. If so, the action of the Viceroy, in shelving the legislation for the present, may be found to be justified. At present the information before the public as to the motives of his action is insufficient to enable the formation of a considered judgment, and it is quite unsafe to jump to the conclusion that he has weakly surrendered to an unfounded clamour based on misrepresentation. (*The Times*)

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N. B. The two following articles were written by Haris Chandra Mukerji, the father of Bengalee journalism, for the *Hindu Patriot* nearly half-a-century ago. We reproduce them in these pages to show how a Bengalee could think and write on political questions so early as fifty years ago and also because the subjects have a topical interest at the present day. *Ed., I. W.*

(1) 'PATRIARCHAL' GOVERNMENT

There is scarcely a single question of Indian politics on which Mr. Norton is not entitled to be heard with attention and respect. His recently publised work, *Topics for Indian Statesmen*, embracing as it does a large variety of subjects, discusses with spirit most questions which interest the Indian politician. We extract the following as a specimen :

It is the fashion just now to praise what is called the "patriarchal" system of administration. Lord Canning has officially declared his opinion that this is the best adapted to the condition and feelings of the nations ; it is one of the well-known watch-words of the civilians, and the "Friend of India," that most mischievous of journals, so far as it directs public opinion in England, has begun to cry out for the application of this system in the North-West Provinces. Let it not be forgotten that scarcely four years have passed away since the system of administration obtaining in the North-West was lauded to the skies by the Directors and all their satellites as the very perfection of Government. The whole of the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee points to Agra as the Garden of the East. Mr. Campbell and other writers plume themselves and the service on the result of their doings in that quarter, whatever may be said of civil administration in Madras or elsewhere. And yet it is confessed now, because stubborn facts will take no denial, that this so much vaunted system has actually broken down at the first touch and shock of civil discord. This reminiscence and this fact should surely warn us how we put faith in any system, simply because the civilians and a superficial dogmatic doctrinaire journalist insist upon its excellence. Taught by experience, let us take nothing more upon trust, but examine for ourselves the grounds which exist for preserving the probability of failure or success of any system, upon its own intrinsic merits or defects.

First of all, then, let us obtain a clear definite idea of what the "patriarchal" system really is. The name creates and calls

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up visions of some golden age, or rather it refers us to Bible history, and we see the venerable chief of a paternal despotism managing all the affairs of his tribe—fiscal, magisterial, and judicial. He is once lawgiver, judge, and receiver of the people's dues. He is looked up to by all with veneration and affection. His decisions went with a ready, cheerful obedience. Charming picture of simplicity in truth. But the principal features somewhat change, when the patriarch is a beardless boy taken from the junior ranks of regimental officers,—some fortunate Indian Dowb with a coronetted letter of introduction in his pocket, or a budding civilian who has a vested right to employ, when the people are a newly "annexed" state sulking and chafing with ill-concealed dislike of their new rulers ; and when the youth placed over them has no fine principles, no practical experience, nothing but his "common sense," to use a slang civilian phrase, to guide him ; when newly acquired power tempts to arrogance, and ere age has mellowed down the infirmities of temper—*silent ages inter arma*, says the great Roman orator ; and the only excuse for the temporary introduction of the "patriarchal" system, after the country has been newly conquered is, that it is a less evil than the continuance of martial law. Immediately after conquest, the laws may be forgiven if they speak with a sound at once harsh and uncertain ; for the sharp, short, peremptory decision is then useless ; but as soon as circumstances permit, this make-shift should stand aside, and make way for a more scientific and deliberate system of jurisprudence. Advancing civilization will indeed compel this in its own good time ; to introduce the "patriarchal" system into the rich provinces of Bengal is one of the demands of the policy of retrogression. Nothing can be more mistaken than the assertion that the "patriarchal" system is what the people like and hold by. The same was said formerly of the punchayet or arbitration system. But Mr. Fullerton, the contemporary of Munro, and the sounder and abler man of the two, long since disposed of that fallacy. In his famous Minute of the first of January, 1816, he shows that the punchayet was to be tolerated only because no other distribution of justice could be said to have existed. "If a man had no punchayet to settle his cause, he obtained no settlement at all." But he asks—shall this state of confusion continue ? And we may well repeat the question.

No fallacy can be more baneful than that which lurks under "simplicity." Analyzed, it will be found to mean that the judgment seat is to be guided by no rules, instructed in no principles ; it may be ignorant, arbitrary, capricious, self-contradictory, positively

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unjust. And all these qualities are to be permitted to be rampant, because we will not set about obtaining a class of educated judges—*propter simplicitatem laicorum* ; and because we have to teach man full power to indulge his own fanciful notions of " equity and good conscience." Thus justice, as Lord Chancellor Ellesmere said, becomes the measure of each judge's foot ; judges too, be it remembered, in this instance, not like the judges of England, men trained in the nature of the law, but raw inexperienced amateurs, thrown upon their own resources, without a rule to guide or a light to illumine them. Truly saith the law maxim, *optimus est judex qui minimum relinquit sibi* ; and I would add, that that is the best judicial system which leaves to the judge as little as possible, beyond declaring what the law is.

Lastly : with reference to the Police.

It can scarcely be necessary to bring forward proofs of the character of this body, which may be described, summarily, as the law of the country. But as I wish this to be, as far as possible, a self contained book, I will quote a few pictures of it, drawn by different hands. The Bengal Missionaries' Petition presented to Parliament will be in the memory of all.

Mr. Halliday, on the 3rd of April 1856, wrote as follows :

" For a long series of years complaints have been handed down from administration, regarding the badness of the Mofussil police under the Government of Bengal, and as yet very little has been done to improve it. Such efforts as have occasionally been made for this purpose, have been usually insufficient to meet the greatness of the evil ; partial remedies have failed to produce any extensive benefit, and during long intervals the Government has appeared to fold its hands in despair, and to attempt nothing new, because the last tried inadequate measure had ended in inevitable disappointment.

No complaint is more common among magistrates and police officers of every grade than that of the disinclination of the people to assist in the apprehension and conviction of criminals. From one end of Bengal to the other, the earnest desire and aim of those who have suffered from thieves or dacoits is to keep the matter secret from the police, or failing that, so to manage as to make the trial a nullity before the courts. Something of this is due, perhaps, to the natural apathy of the people : though it can not fail to be observed, on the other hand, that where they have any object to gain, the same people show no apathy nor unreadiness, but remarkable energy and perseverance ; in civil and criminal prosecutions. More, no doubt, is due to the corruption and extortion of

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the police, which causes it to be popularly said, that dacoity is bad enough, but the subsequent police inquiry very much worse. But after allowing for both these causes, no one conversant with the people can have failed to remark, how much of their strong unwillingness to prosecute is owing to the deep sense which pervades the public mind of the utter uncertainty of the proceedings of our course and the exceeding chances of escape which our system allows to criminals ; often have I heard natives express, on this point, their inability to understand the principles on which the courts are so constituted or so conducted, as to make it appear in their eyes as if the object were rather to favour the acquittal, than to ensure the conviction and punishment of offenders ; and often have I been assured by them that their conscious desire to avoid appearing as prosecutors arose, in a great measure, from their belief that prosecution was very likely to end in acquittal, even, as they imagined, in the teeth of the best evidence ; while the acquittal of a revengeful and unscrupulous ruffian was known, by experience, to have repeatedly ended in the most unhappy consequences to his ill-advised and imprudent prosecutor.

(II) AN INDIAN PARLIAMENT

Since the Declaration of American Independence popular sovereignty has been the mania of mankind. Nations have sacrificed honor, principle, and, above all, happiness to realize the vision. Countrymen have fought against each other, genuine patriots have done more injury to the interests of their fatherland than avowed enemies, in the struggle to establish social facility on government by representative institutions. Undoubtedly government by representation at first sight possesses very many advantages over a monarchical despotism ; and the idea on which it is founded is more liberal than the doctrine of the divine right of sovereigns to rule according to their fancies. But representative government is again liable to the reproach of taking for granted many things which we do not know for facts nor reverence as true principles. For instance, it rests on notion of the absolute equality of mankind. We, for our part, do not see that all men are equal in natural or in acquired intelligence, or that knowledge has been arithmetically divided among them ; and, without any ill-will for the illiterate and the homeless, we much doubt whether Lord Brougham, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Baring ought not to exercise more influence in the Legislature of Great Britain than the Cornwall miner or the Lancashire workman ;—whether wealth is inherently so mischievous as not to possess any authority as such in legislation ;

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and whether the Duke of Bedford or Baron Rothschild has not less inducements to bring about anarchy than one of the "houseless poor." Then again representative government, in the last form which it inevitably assumes, produces the tyranny of the Majority—the most intolerable and implacable of all tyrannies—a tyranny which in the United States has resulted in the nearly complete absence of the expression of any murmur against the popular will and passion, though we know for a certainty that in all human societies differences of opinion will exist. Besides, representative institutions require to be guarded with the utmost jealousy. They have a tendency to class legislation. If all classes of the community are not equally represented, one class will naturally be at the mercy of another; the class most fully represented in the Legislature will have a tendency to tyrannize over the class represented less fully or not at all; and class tyranny partakes of much of the intolerableness and implacable nature of the tyranny of the Majority.

Such an example of class tyranny or, to use a less harsh expression, class legislation the British Parliament presents. We will not dwell upon the few Scotch and Irish Lords and still fewer commoners that are admitted into that body; nor advocate the extension of the electoral franchise to the length demanded by Mr. Bright. We propose merely to point out the grievances to which the people of India are subject, owing to their being totally unrepresented in Parliament. From the time of Burke downwards, there has never been a complete lack of British Senators who have advocated our interests. There are in the House of Commons at the present moment at least a dozen members who have really the welfare of India at heart. But a nation, far less a nation composed of one fifth of the population of the globe, cannot afford to live upon the charity of individuals. A nation ought not to forfeit what they can demand as a right, and depend for the highest end of national existence upon the casual, fitful, voluntary benevolence of a few philanthropic members of Parliament, who occasionally drop one or two words of sympathy for the Indians from the same motive that they at times send Orphan Asylum donations of a few superfluous shillings. It is in the nature of voluntary aid—and such as one is not compelled to render—that no sensible man can, nor any man ought, to place reliance upon. To ensure justice to all classes subject to them, it is a necessity with representation that all classes should be represented with equal fulness. The miseries of the working classes consequent upon their partial representation in Parliament form the burden of

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the speeches of English demagogues. The grievances of India, with every class of her population unrepresented, may easily be imagined. The working people bewail that they are the victim of class legislation. We are more so than even they.

The remedy logically would be the admission of Hindoo and Mahomedan members into the House of Commons. Under any circumstances that is inconvenient ; in the existing state of things, it is impracticable. Even supposing any native willing to go to Europe on that mission, and if with the improvements in the art of navigation a sea voyage from India to England becomes at some future period as little terrorsome as a voyage from Ireland to England now is, it will still be a physical impossibility for Indian members to arrive in London within the forty days of time allowed between the issuing of the Queen's writ in Chancery and the meeting of Parliament. For that reason, however, the Indian people ought not to continue the victim of a selfish class legislation and class tyranny. The alternative left is to create a Parliament in each of the Presidencies of India. The recent legislative enactment raising the customs duties has partially opened the eyes of a portion of the community. Those of our countrymen who interest themselves in politics are preparing themselves for an agitation for the admission of Native members into the Legislative Council. The idea, in the modesty of its aim, is incomplete. What we want is not the introduction of a small independent element in the existing Council, but an Indian Parliament.

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THE LAST INDIAN BUDGET IN PARLIAMENT

N.B. As almost all the newspapers in India have published in *extenso* the full text of Mr. Morley's speech delivered in the House of Commons on the last Indian Budget Day, we refrain from reproducing it in the pages of *The Indian World*. For the future use of our readers and for general reference, however, we give below a summary of the Budget Debate as made out by the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Morning Post*, the organ from whose report Mr. Morley himself quoted a part of his speech in the House some time ago *Ed., I. W.*

Mr. Morley's second Indian Budget statement will probably rank as one of the most important of modern times. It was delivered under conditions of unusual difficulty. The Secretary for India, a man of pronounced Radical views, found himself confronted with a situation in which it was impossible, without sacrificing both Imperial and Indian interests, to carry out the principles of administration with which he has long been prominently associated in connection with Ireland, and which form part of the political gospel of many of his friends on the Government side of

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the House. He has taken the course which was expected of him by all who have watched his action while at the India Office. Political theory has given place to practical necessity. His speech was a splendid vindication of the system of government now in operation in India. Certain changes were indeed foreshadowed, and an inquiry into the question of over-centralisation was practically promised, but Mr. Morley put his foot down firmly on the suggestion that India should be left to govern itself, and he insisted that at all costs order must and would be maintained.

It was not a large House as Houses go in in these strenuous times, but it was unusually large for an Indian night. While there were a certain number of gaps on the benches behind the Government and still more on the Opposition side, the Strangers' Galleries were densely crowded, a large proportion of their occupants being brown-skinned natives of India. Conspicuous in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery were the picturesque turbaned figures of two important native rulers—the Maharajah of Bikanir and the Maharajah of Alwa.

Mr. Morley's statement was full of fine phrasing and contained many striking passages. At times he spoke with much fire and energy, emphasising his utterances with a great deal of vigorous gesticulation, but unfortunately his voice was not equal to the great strain imposed upon it by a two hours' oration, and many sentences were almost inaudible. The keynote of the speech was struck quite early. This was, he said, almost the first occasion on which British democracy in its full strength had been brought directly face to face with the difficulties of Indian government. Energetically striking the brass-bound box with his open palm he declared that the democracy was confronted with one of the most difficult experiments ever tried in human history—"that of carrying on, as I think you will have to carry on, personal government with the right of free speech and free publication." Then, in a fine passage, he warned the House of the need of reserve in the language it used: "What is said here is overheard thousands of miles away by a great and complex community by our friends, and by those whom I am afraid I must reluctantly call our enemies."

"The Budget is a prosperity Budget," Mr. Morley added, though he had to admit that the black shadow of the plague was still thrown across the Indian horizon. When he came to deal with the opium question there was an amusing incident. "I receive many petitions," he said, "which demand 'righteousness before revenue.' Yes, but you must not satisfy your own righteousness at the expense of other people's revenue." This brought Mr. Lupton excitedly to his feet

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with the declaration : " We are quite prepared to bear the expense." Mr. Morley laughingly turned towards Mr. Asquith, who was sitting just behind him. " I commend that proposition hopefully," he remarked, with a sweep of his hand, " to the Chancellor of the Exchequer." Mr. Asquith smiled grimly and the House burst into a roar of laughter.

But the important part of the speech was reserved for the end. It related to the disorder in the Punjaub and to the deportation without trial of two of the agitators. Mr. Morley vigorously defended the refusal to prosecute these men on the ground that the result would have been to advertise the seditious agitation which the deportation was intended to put an end to. He exposed the vile attempt made by the agitators to inflame the passion of the native military pensioners by telling them that the Government was spreading the plague by poisoning streams and wells, and asked the House to try to realise what might have happened had a single native regiment sided with the rioters. Then, speaking with much emphasis and deliberation, he asserted that it would have been absurd for the Government in the face of risk of a conflagration not to have used the weapon of deportation, and he added, amid loud Opposition cheers, " I myself have no apology whatever to offer." He confessed that political friends had told him that he was outraging the principles of his life. His reply was that for a long time to come India must be the theatre of absolute and personal government and that inconsistency between his conduct now and his conduct in relation to Ireland could only be established by showing that Ireland and India were on the same footing. And he quoted a passage from John Stuart Mill's book on Representative Government in support of his action.

Mr. Morley went on to assert that British administration in India would be a great deal more popular if it were a trifle less efficient and a trifle more elastic. " Our danger," he said, " is the creation in the centre of Indian government of a pure bureaucratism," and he stated that he was in accord with Lord Minto in thinking that considerable advantage would be gained by referring the question of over-centralisation to a Royal Commission. He refused to assent to an inquiry by Parliamentary Committee or by a Commission into the causes of the unrest in India, but he adumbrated three changes in the system of administration. These are :

(1) The establishment of an Advisory Council of Notables to elicit intelligent native opinion and diffuse information as to the action of the Government.

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(2) The substantial enlargement of the Governor-General's and the Provincial Legislative Councils, but with the retention of an official majority ; and

(3) The nomination by the Secretary of State of one or two Indian members of the Council of India.

These proposals were greeted with Ministerial cheers. In a striking peroration, Mr. Morley vindicated the continuance of British rule in India. He had previously said that the natives could not work the Government for a week. He added now that British rule would continue, must continue, and ought to continue. "There is," he said, "a school of those who say that we might wisely walk out of India. Anybody who pictures to himself the anarchy, the bloody chaos, that would follow from such a withdrawal would shrink from any such position." And he ended with the declaration : "We ought to fight our difficulties, dangers, and mischiefs with sympathy, kindness, firmness, and love of justice, and, whether the weather be fair or foul, in a valiant and hopeful spirit." The last phrase might well be used to describe the spirit of the speech. That was evidently the feeling of the large majority of the House, and when Mr. Morley resumed his seat he was cheered to the echo.

There were of course some malcontents. After Earl Percy had warmly congratulated the Secretary for India on his firm attitude, Mr. G. Hardy, Liberal member for the Stowmarket Division, moved an amendment, which, while affirming the imperative necessity of maintaining peace and order in India, asked for an inquiry into "the causes at the root of the dissatisfaction." Dr. Rutherford, another Ministerialist, announced that he was torn by conflicting emotions, one being that of esteem for a charming personality, the other that of allegiance to Liberal principles. The second of these feelings appeared to predominate, for he declared his conviction that the deportation of the agitators was not in accord with either justice or honour. Mr. O'Grady, a Labour Member, saw in Mr. Morley's arguments a justification of Dublin Castle tyranny and of the Russian autocracy, but Mr. Smeaton and others supported the Government. The amendment was, oddly enough, "talked out" by one of its supporters, Mr. C. J. O'Donnell.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

The Punjab Deportations

The 'heckling' of Mr. John Morley over the Punjab Deportations continues to be a feature of question-time in the House of Commons and Mr. Morley has, on the principle of familiarity breeding contempt, ceased to look upon the subject as a 'serious topic.'

The Two Autocrats

Autocrat Morley declared in his last Budget speech in the House of Commons that it was not into quite 'a haven of serenity and peace' that the present Government of India came. Autocrat Curzon has taken this observation seriously to heart and written to the *Times* stating: "The symptoms which have lately caused so much anxiety were not apparent during the nearly seven years for which I was responsible for the government of India; nor was I ever called upon to take measures for the suppression of sedition or the restoration of order." Verily, as Mr. Morley said last year, the man must be a great f - l who 'dogmatizes upon India.'

London Cats Exported to India

If Dublin breeds lions for export purposes, London cats will figure in future on the "import" side of our booming trade returns. At any rate, a London firm has been asked to send a large consignment of cats to a certain district of India, where they are wanted to catch the rats suspected of spreading the plague. It is hoped that these cats will not themselves prove a plague, as the mongoose did in Jamaica after exterminating the rats that spoiled the sugarcane. Meanwhile, by exporting to India the wretched cats, left to starve by thoughtless Londoners during the summer holidays, commerce could be combined with real philanthropy.

Monopoly of Representation

The Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu has set a very noble and edifying example—by declining to contest for the *third* time the Calcutta University seat in the Bengal Council. Mr. Bhupendranath has made himself so useful a member of the Council and his popularity among the Fellows of the University is so great that he

would have a simple 'walk-over' if he had only cared to contest the seat. But Mr. Basu thinks that there ought to be no 'monopoly of representation' when the seats in the Councils are *so few* and so *many* people are anxious to fill them. How we wish that his example were emulated in some other provinces of India, particularly in Bombay

Affairs in Eastern Bengal

The gubernatorial *guddee* at Shillong seems to be peculiarly infected with the sedition-bacillus. Mr. Hare for the first few months of his rule in the new Province resisted successfully the insidious encroachments of this political bacillus, but since his elevation to a knighthood the sedition-bacilli have completely paralysed him. Sir Lancelot of Eastern Bengal has now got his vision blurred and he sees nothing from the Pudda to the Surma excepting 'sedition.' A Conference has been stopped at Faridpore, two Mahometan Swadeshists have been hauled up and committed to the Sessions, singing parties have been intercepted from giving their plays, stray religious minstrels have been shadowed—all on the count of 'sedition.' Is there anything to connect Shillong with Sedition?

Evictions in India

Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, M.P., a member of the Indian Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons, has made an appeal to his fellow representatives to support an effort to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the taxation of land in India. Mr. O'Donnell, having spent a large part of his life in the Indian Civil Service, is specially qualified to deal with questions affecting our great dependency. He begs the Members of Parliament, as Englishmen and Christians, "and even as normally humane human beings," to consider some facts which he puts forward, showing how, in one province alone, during eleven years, by the working of the land revenue acts, the occupancy rights of 1,963,364 acres held by defaulters were put up for sale by auction, and five-sixths of a million of *families* evicted. Painful as these figures are, they are rendered all the more significant by the statement that nearly sixty per cent of the land could not find purchasers owing to the assessments.

A Loyal Nationalist Manifesto

A manifesto was published at Lahore early in June last signed by practically all the leaders of the advanced or educated party in the Punjab, including many persons suspected of actively sympa-

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thising with the recent display of unrest in the province. The signatories include nine barristers, 18 pleaders, several merchants, contractors, landlords, retired officials, and college professors, and many English-speaking Hindoos. The manifesto explains that its object is to allay the present tension. It expresses loyalty to the Empire, recognises the beneficent intentions of the supreme and local Governments, and acknowledges with gratitude Lord Minto's and Sir Denzil Ibbetson's timely removal of certain grievances. It goes on to say that the fact cannot be concealed that discontent exists in certain parts of the provinces in consequence of recent legislative and administrative actions. Much of the discontent, however, is probably due to misapprehension. The signatories declare that they say this because they claim the right to criticise individual acts of the Legislature when it is ill-advised, and also the right to hold public meetings. Nevertheless they advise their friends and countrymen to exercise forbearance and to promote a better understanding, believing that the restriction on public meetings will be soon withdrawn.

Religious Brutalities in India

Mr. Joseph Collinson, the Secretary of the Indian Humanitarian League, has just addressed a letter to the Rt. Hon. John Morley, Secretary of State for India, calling his attention to some revolting practices performed in connection with the religious customs of certain Indian tribes, involving the torture of buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs, and other highly-sentient domesticated animals. In many Indian villages, it appears, the *paraih pujari* (priest,) after the head of the victim has been cut off, sucks the blood from the neck of the carcase, and during the night of the sacrifice, will suck the blood of as many as a hundred sheep, or, as frequently happens, one of the priests, who is painted to represent a leopard, flies at the sheep like a wild beast, seizes it by the throat with his teeth, and kills it by biting through the jugular vein. The burying of a cow up to the neck, when a number of oxen are compelled to walk over the head of the victim, who is thus slowly trampled to death, is another atrocity. In the Telugu country a more cruel custom prevails. It is common, at the end of a sacrifice, to bring a car fitted with four, five, or more pointed stakes in front of the village deity. Pigs, lambs, and fowls are impaled alive upon the stakes, and the vehicle is dragged in procession to the boundary of the village. The unhappy victims die in agonies on the way, and are taken off the stakes when the car reaches its destination.

Science and the Indian Government

In *Nature* Professor Ronald Ross has a stinging article on the want of science in general administration, the Indian Government especially coming in for his castigation though the tergiversations of home governments, swayed as they are by the exigencies of party warfare, by no means escape stricture. While we recognise the Titanic task that a handful of European officials have to cope with in governing the three hundred millions of India, we would think that the advantages scientific methods offer would be all the more eagerly seized on that account, but Professor Ross, though admitting a small improvement of late years, shows how the paralysing influences of routine crush enterprise and ideas. He tells again the tale of malaria; how for fifteen years after Laveran's discovery official India took no notice of it, and how, when he himself set to work vigorously at the subject of transmission, every kind of official difficulty was thrown in his way. The story of cholera, of plague, and of vaccine obtained from variolisation of the calf are much the same, and the story of typhoid but little better. Knowledge has been offered to the Government, and it has either been frowned upon or treated with sparse courtesy. And yet the problem of India is so indissolubly bound up with the prevalence of these diseases that its economic administration may be considered almost a department of epidemiology. Well, a change is gradually coming, so Professor Ross says, for whereas in former years not a thousandth part of the medical budget was spent on investigation, now about one-hundredth is; but even that amount is pitifully small.

An Overland Route from Manipur to Mandalay

South of Manipur, the mode of travel is less civilised, and only track and bridle paths can be followed. Mule transport can be used if available, but for the most part coolie transport is generally adopted throughout the regions. From Manipur the route is followed to Palal, where the road ends, and thence to Tinglabon, Sebong and Tammu. From Tinglabon, the road is uphill and very steep all the way until a plateau is reached, and thereafter there is a rapid drop to the river Lahchac, which is crossed, and after a stiff climb the village is reached. On this stretch of the road there is no accommodation for travellers except "bashas"—native huts just giving shelter from the weather. From Sebong to Tammu, the road is downhill, and in places very steep. The highest point in the course of the journey is 6,000 feet which is at Man Thans, but the most difficult part of the

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route is between Tinglabon and Tammu, owing to the gradients which have to be followed, the road going straight up and down hill without deviation. From Tammu to Sithhaung it is thirty-six miles, the road being good and the gradients easy. Water is a difficulty during the latter stages of the journey south of Manipur, it being extremely scarce in parts. The country throughout the whole route is very hilly, and jungle covers these hills, except in the neighbourhood of Manipur itself and at Tammu, the former being in a valley and the latter on an open plateau. From Sit-haung to Monywa, in Upper Burma, one can proceed by river boat, there being a regular service on the Chindwin river ; this service, however, is largely dependent on the state of the water, at some periods of the year there not being enough to allow of the passage of steamers. Another route from Tammu to Kindab exists on a smaller river, which can be navigated by country boats. From Monywa to Mandalay the journey is undertaken by the Mu-Valley Railway.

"The Statesman" Newspaper

Indian Journalism is making headway. The *Statesman* of Calcutta, started by the late Mr. Robert Knight about 30 years ago, has changed its old garb and is appearing from the 16th instant in an enlarged and a most neat and decent shape. One can hardly distinguish the appearance of the new *Statesman* from some of the most well-known London and New York journals. The *Statesman* is now printed on a Rotary Machine and there is not a single line of blurred printing in any issue. The change in the size and appearance of the *Statesman* must have cost the proprietors a good outlay of capital and entailed considerable mechanical enterprise.

So far as the editing and collection of news goes, the *Statesman* is by far and away the *best* morning newspaper in all India. Its convictions have no doubt often been shaky and its Liberalism tainted with imperialistic ideas ; it nearly gave up Lord Ripon during the Ilbert Bill controversy, wrote a long 'appreciation' of the unpopular administration of Sir Charles Elliott in Bengal and has supported the recent coercive measures of Mr. Morley rather thick and through. In spite of all these oscillations of the pendulum, the *Statesman's* attitude towards the people of India have been generally more steady and sympathetic than that of any other Anglo-Indian newspaper in the country.

The late Mr. Gladstone used to entertain a very high opinion of the founder of the *Statesman*, who was in friendly correspondence with some of the foremost Englishmen of his day. Mr. Knight used

to write a most beautiful hand, and some of his letters to the Editor of this Review are still stored as a valuable possession. Of some of the more prominent publicists who have been associated with the *Statesman*, we may mention the names of Messrs William Riach and S. K. Ratcliffe—the two staunchest Liberals that have ever come out to work in a newspaper office in India.

Mr. Morley's Audience and Speech on the Budget Day

Mr. Morley had an exceptional audience for his Indian Budget statement on June 6 last. In the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery were two of the Indian Princes now staying in London, and many Indian gentlemen were in the Strangers' Gallery. Among the peers was Lord Middleton, who was Secretary for India in the late Government, and Lord Courteney. Unfortunately, the effect of a very fine speech was marred by an indistinct utterance. Much of the speech was delivered in a whisper, and it was impossible to follow it through. No one on the Treasury Bench other than John Morley could have held the House for two hours under such circumstances. But he did, and the ringing cheers which several times came from the Conservatives showed that on that side, at any rate, he was understood and appreciated. On the Liberal side, however, the absence of the Prime Minister and the want of all support from the Front Bench was extremely significant.

The London correspondent of the "New Castle Chronicle" writes of Mr. Morley's speech :

"It is greatly to be feared that Mr. Morley has ceased to count as a Parliamentary force. His voice is too feeble for effectiveness in debate and his age is all against him. Like Sir William Harcourt he has stayed in the political arena too long and cannot hope to regain his resonance of tone or anything like the old facility of expression. Parts of the speech were admirably composed but there were difficulties of enunciation as well as feebleness of delivery which would seem to show that Mr. Morley is rapidly qualifying to join the "extinct volcanoes." The old member for Newcastle was very deliberate and at the commencement emphasised many sentences with fine oratorical effect. Yet as we have frequently seen there was a woeful lack of staying power. He soon became jerky and spasmodic, then dropped into very low tones and could only be heard by those in his immediate vicinity. As may be supposed there were many requests to speak up and more than one assurance that we cannot hear you but unfortunately there were physical difficulties to prevent any really satisfactory response."

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The First British Indian Troops

The first troops employed by the British Government in India were British, not native. This took place in 1662, when Bombay came by dowry to the British Crown. On that occasion Sir Abraham Shipman was sent out with 400 soldiers to take possession and remain as Governor. But as there was a dispute with the portuguese as to whether the word Bombay signified the island only or included its dependencies also, the poor fellows were landed on the island of Anjediva, near Goa, where they at once began to sicken. In 1664 they were transferred to Madras, in view of the war with Holland ; but by the end of the year Shipman and a vast number of the men were dead, and when at last they landed in Bombay, in March, 1665, the 400 had dwindled to one officer and 113 men.

"*Primus in Indis*"

The soldiers mentioned in the previous note formed the nucleus of the regiment which is still to be found in our Army List under the title of the 2nd Batt. Royal Dublin Fusiliers, which title it assumed in 1781. In 1826 the regiment was known as the 1st Bombay European Regiment ; it was created a Fusilier Corps in 1844 ; and when the late East India Company's European troops were brought into the British line in 1861, it was numbered the 103rd Royal Bombay Fusiliers. It was brought home to England for the first time in the 26th year of its service, in 1870. The title *Primus in Indis* is, however, held by the old 39th, now the 1st Battalion of the Dorsetshire Regiment, which proceeded to India in 1754 to hold Madras, and was the first King's Regiment landed in India.

The First Native Indian Troops

It was the French and the English adventurers in India who first put arms into the hands of native auxiliaries ; they were quite conscious of the danger they were incurring, and consequently enlisted recruits of as many diverse creeds and castes as were procurable, and mingled them indiscriminately in the ranks. But force of circumstances sometimes interfered with this policy of mixture of creeds and races. The Cavalry of Arcot, the original Madras Cavalry, were all Mussulmans, and have remained almost entirely so to this day. The Madras Pioneers—now the 2nd Queen's Own Sappers and Miners, of which the King is Colonel-in-Chief—consisted almost entirely of native Christians and Pariahs. The first native troops employed by the English in Bengal were the com-

panies of Madras Sepoys, brought by Clive to avenge the tragedy of the Black Hole. They were first formed out of previously existing independent companies into battalions in 1763. The senior of these is the present 61st (Prince of Wales's Own) Pioneers long known as the 1st Madras Native Infantry, the doyen of the Indian Army. From the sources mentioned in these paragraphs have gradually grown the British and native armies in India, than which, taken all round, there are perhaps no finer fighting troops in the world.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

A Gigantic Mango

A few days ago there was for sale in Bombay a specimen of a mango the like of which has never before been grown. It is a White Alfonso, perfect in shape, a beautiful satin skin and a subtle aroma which faithfully indicates the delicate flavour of its golden pulp. It is a triumph in every aspect, and with the smallest known stone for its size. Yet it is of gigantic weight and proportions. A good specimen of the Golden Alfonso, so far our best mango, does not weigh more than about four ounces. The White Alfonso just fails to tip the beam at the weight of two and-a-half pound. The White Alfonso, or *safeda Afoos*, is grown about twenty miles outside Bombay city, in the direction of Borivili, and although the fruit has reached this gigantic size, it seems almost incredible that this is the first occasion on which the trees have borne fruit. There is only a limited supply at present but the new fruit seems destined to wrest the pride of place from the still glorious specimen, the Golden Alfonso. A peculiarity of the pulp is its pale rose coloured hue. The few which have been offered to the public have found ready purchasers at fifteen rupees a dozen.

Indian Indigo

Considerable hope and some controversy were awakened by the publication of the conclusions arrived at by the Government of India's bacteriologist after two years' investigation regarding the relative virtues of natural and synthetic indigo. The one point that remains uncontroverted is the absolute necessity for standardisation of strength in the vegetable product. In Behar the first crop was destroyed by floods, but the quality of the later product was exceptionally good. Prices both in Calcutta and London consequently hardened about 12 per cent. From this it is argued in some

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quarters that the bottom has been reached and that such demand as now survives is for purposes to which the synthetic colouring matter cannot be applied. One element of strength in the recent demand for indigo has been the activity of iron and machinery trades and the large consumption of indigo-dyed clothing commonly worn in the workshops.

The Inventive Faculty in India

Mr. H. G. Graves, reporting on the working of the Inventions and Designs Act last year, says that India in proportion to her population is nine hundred times less inventive than the United States, and seven hundred times less than Great Britain. The number of applications made by native inventors has shown a gradual improvement, but even so there was a beggarly total last year of sixty-five. Generally speaking, says the report, the lack of invention in India, whether amongst natives or amongst other more or less permanent residents, is only natural in view of the conditions of capital and manufacture in India. The larger existing factors and engineering works get the bulk of their machinery from abroad, where facilities for its manufacture and improvement exist, and are too busy with current work to undertake novelties, even if they are improvements, when the existing demand is satisfactorily supplied by older fashions. The range of manufacture, in which striking improvements are possible, is limited in India, seeing that so much of the trade of the country is in raw and semi-raw materials. Textile industries are the most noteworthy exceptions, but again it is the outturn that has to be considered. Improvements are embodied in every fresh consignment of machinery from manufacturers who have highly trained engineering staffs and can and do consider other matters than output and repairs. Trades and the industries which are new to the country or recently introduced are on a still worse footing as regards invention. The manager, who may either be a foreigner or a local man with special training, and his staff must concentrate their energies on the actual working of the known processes or of known improvements introduced from abroad.

1. Zahir Uddin Babar
4. Sultan Mahmud Mirza
7. Shahzada Mostem



5. Sultan Jalal Uddin Mirza
8. Mohi Uddin Aurangzeb



REVIEWS & NOTICES

THE COURT OF THE GREAT MOGUL

[*Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708. By Niccolao Manucci, Venetian. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by William Irvine, B. C. S. (Retired). 'Indian Texts Series,' 2 Vols, Murray & Co.*]

The history of the Mogul in India is considerably made up of the accounts left by a large number of European travellers of the 16th and the 17th century. The accounts of Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci have long been regarded as very valuable materials of the history of Mediæval India. Of these three historians of the court of the Mogul, Bernier has no doubt been the most popular and his account has passed through several editions, the standard one being the one published by Constable for his "Oriental Miscellanies." Tavernier's *Travels in India* have also, after many imperfect translations, been some time since faithfully rendered from the French by Dr. V. Ball and published by Messrs Macmillan & Co. in 1889. After two centuries of neglect, Mr. Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service, has now replaced the untrustworthy and incomplete edition of Catrou's *Manucci*, published in 1705, with a most complete and accurate translation of that great Venetian traveller.

The present edition of *Manucci* owes its publication to the endeavours of the Royal Asiatic Society and the patronage of the Secretary of State for India and is the *first* work of the "Indian Texts Series" organised by their co-operation. The two volumes now issued by Messrs Murray & Co. do not complete the work and a third volume bringing the work to a close, with an index and a map, has yet to be published.

Niccolus Manucci (sometime spelt as Manuchi and Manouchi) had a most romantic career as an adventurer and historian. He was a Venetian by birth and at the age of 14 he ran away from his home and hid himself in a vessel bound for Smyrna. On board that vessel, he had the good fortune to fall in with a Lord Bellomont, who was then coming out to the Courts of Persia and India for the purpose of raising loans on behalf of the exiled king, Charles II. After many vicissitudes, the two adventurers were about to reach

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Delhi when Lord Bellomont died. As soon as Manucci reached Delhi he was taken to the Court of Prince Dara, the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and given a post in the Army as an artilleryman on Rs. 80 a month. After this time, Manucci had many strange adventures at the Courts of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, being soldier, merchant, and physician by turn. He had thus splendid opportunities of having a very intimate knowledge of the inner life of the Moguls. Ultimately Manucci fled from the Mogul Court and settled at Madras, and was on excellent terms with Governor Pitt, who employed him as interpreter. Manucci died in 1717, either at Madras or Pondicherry, in his 78th year.

In his later years Manucci wrote the *Storia do Mogor*, and sent the MS. to France in 1700, expecting that it would be published at the expense of Louis XIV. ; but the MS. got into the hands of a Jesuit priest, Catrou, who issued a book in 1705 largely founded upon Manucci's text. The original MS. remained in the Jesuit College of St Clement in Paris till the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1763 ; and it has been Mr. Irvine's good fortune to bring together the different parts of this MS. two centuries after it was written.

Niccolus Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* was written in a mixture of the Italian, French and Portuguese languages and has cost Mr. Irvine a good deal of trouble in translating and editing. We are told that nearly 10 years have been spent by Mr. Irvine in collecting and collating the mss. alone which is just about the stretch of time it took Manucci to complete his work (1699-1709). It would thus appear that the ms. that Manucci sent to Louis XIV in 1700 was only a part of his *Storia* and the subsequent portion of that work was not finished till a couple of years after the death of Aurangzeb. Mr. Irvine has not only supplied us with a very accurate and readable translation of Manucci's Journals, but he has also furnished the work with a very valuable introduction and copious notes and references. The book is very beautifully illustrated, the two volumes under notice containing as many as 26 reproductions of pictures obtained by Manucci himself during his lifetime and which are now lying in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris.

Manucci is decidedly a more charming journalist, raconteur, and historian than either Pepys or Greville. He writes in a flowing, vivacious and easy style and penetrates into the very heart of things and makes bare the deepest intrigues in the Court of Delhi. But like most writers of his period, he was prone to exaggeration and was not free from a European bias against things oriental. He spent the greater part of his Indian career in the Court

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of Aurangzebe and described the barbarities of that great ruler with a frankness which is shocking to modern cannons of taste.

Mr. Irvine thus estimates the value of Manucci's work :

"As an historian Manucci presents us with a somewhat mingled yarn. His supposed extracts from the Mogul official chronicles are, for the reigns preceding that of Shahjahan, a tissue of absurdities. These fables were, no doubt, current among the people, but they are distortions of the facts, as such folks' talk always is. What is told about Jahangir, whether true or not, is at any rate characteristic, and might be true. With the reign of Shah Jahan things alter, and certainly for the later years of that reign and for the fifty years of Aurangzeb, Manucci is a writer whose statements cannot be ignored. I will not assert that what he says must always be believed. He was at times misinformed ; he was prejudiced ; he wrote in the decline of life, thirty to forty years after many of the events happened. I do not think he was intentionally unvarnished ; he is, indeed, quite honest and specific as a rule, about the sources of his information. No doubt he had a penchant for the personal side of history—in fact, he has been called a "backstairs gossip"—but I do not think this condemns him as unworthy of credit. Oriental history, as tricked out by venal and fulsome pens, tells us little or nothing of the real character of the actors in it or of the inner causes of events : and a writer like Manucci supplies us with the necessary corrective of life-like, if at times sordid, detail. Merely because they reveal undignified or discreditable actions, I do not hold that his stories should be rejected, while I think they are always true to the spirit of the time and country, and therefore antecedently probable."

Manucci's *Journals* or *Storia* consists of 5 Parts, the 1st of which describes the personal narrative of his journey from Venice to Delhi, the 2nd is mainly concerned with his personal history and adventures during the reign of Aurangzebe, and the 3rd consists of a treatise on the Mogul Court and a description of the system of Government that obtained in those days with statistics of revenues, etc. Up to the 3rd Part, Manucci keeps on to his plan but in the following Part he gets discursive and sometimes incoherently garrulous. The IVth Part he devotes to an account of the current events in the Mogul Camp, some embassies and Missions, and the Vth Part concludes the work with narrating the events of the last few years of Aurangzebe's reign and some stories of the Mogul Court.

We reproduce below a story of Manucci as an example of the

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kind of materials he uses in the *Storia* as well as to illustrate the method of Government which prevailed in India under Mogul rule :

"To make still more clear how Shah Jahan was anxious that justice should be administered in his realm there are other interesting cases to be described. The first is that of a soldier who took wrongfully the slave-girl of a Hindu clerk. The latter brought a complaint before the courts. The soldier said the slave-girl was his and so likewise said the girl herself, as she wanted to live with the soldier. The charge was transferred to the King's tribunal, and he ordered the slave-girl to be placed in his palace. When he wanted to write he directed the girl to pour a little water into the inkstand, and this she did most dexterously. This proved to the King that she was the slave of the scribe and not of the soldier ; thus he decreed that the girl should be made over to the scribe, from whom she had learnt how to pour water into an inkpot. The soldier was expelled from the service and banished the country."

Here follows a story which he tells to prove that the pen is mightier than the sword :

"In Shah Jahan's time a soldier went to draw his pay, and the official could not attend him at once as he was busy. The angry soldier threatened him, saying he should have to smash his teeth with his sword. The official said nothing and paid him ; then, jesting, said that with his pen he could do more than he with his sword. The sharp-witted scribe, to get his revenge for the menace, wrote in the book where was entered the soldier's descriptive roll that he had lost two of his front teeth. For it is the practice in Mogul country to write the names and personal marks of those who are employed. Some months elapsed, and the soldier appeared again for his pay. The clerk opened the book, and found by the description that he was not the man entitled to that pay, for he had two front teeth more than were recorded in the register of descriptive rolls. The soldier was put to confusion ; his protests and arguments were unavailing : and seeing no other course if he would not lose his pay and his place, he was obliged to have two front teeth extracted to agree with the record and in that way got his pay."

Another quotation from our author and we shall have done with him. "When Aurangzebe learnt that the head of Dara (his eldest brother who was killed at his instance) had arrived, he ordered it to be brought to him in the garden on a dish, with the face cleaned of the blood on the surface and a turban on the head. He called for lights to be brought so that he might see the



Dara's Head Brought on a charger before Aurangzeb

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mark borne by the Prince on his forehead and might make sure that it was the head of Dara and not that of another person. After he had satisfied himself, he told them to put it on the ground and gave it three thrusts in the face with the sword he carried by way of staff, saying : ' Behold the face of a would-be king and emperor of all the Mogul realms. Take him out of my sight. "

Strange records of a **very** strange time—and yet Aurangzebe's day was not more ancient than only 200 years from to-day. And still there are people who would insist in dogmatising that 'nothing changes in the East ' !

However, we have done with Manucci and his editor, Mr. Irvine. We cannot be too sufficiently thankful to Lord Curzon and the Royal Asiatic Society for inaugurating "the Indian Texts Series" and giving the public an opportunity of dipping into the pages of unavailable or out of print works bearing on the various departments of Indian history and literature.

P. C. R.

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LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

RELIGION AND PATRIOTISM IN INDIA

Mrs. Annie Besant's thoughtful and convincing paper on the above subject occupies the place of honour in the June number of the *Hindustan Review*. The cardinal point of the article seems to be that religious differences do not and cannot stand in the way of a common Indian nationality.

People who have been taught along the lines of English education have, according to Mrs. Besant, become thoroughly secularised, and regard those who work for the revival of religion as enemies of Indian nationality, however well-intentioned such workers may be. Those, who think that religion can be put out of public life by their order, are requested by the writer to look around them now, if they will not look backward over the past, and they will see that religion, among the most progressive nations of the present, is a force which politicians must recognise and with which statesmen must reckon. Till we can kill the religious feeling in man, we cannot safely ignore religion in national life. If there is to be an Indian nation, patriotism and religion must join hands in India, and help and strengthen each other. To strive to thrust religion aside is bound to prove but wasted labour. Strong religious feelings of different kinds do *not* prevent the building of a nation. Referring to the religious antagonism between Hindus and Mahomedans, the writer says that in Europe religionists were murdering each other as largely as in India ; yet no such obstacles have prevented the growth of the English people into a nation. Why then should riots here interfere with nationality more than riots there, and why should not a nation grow into unity with diverse creeds in India, as nations have grown into it with diverse creeds in Europe ? The day will come, thinks the writer, when, in a national crisis, Hindu, Mussulman and Parsi will forget their religious differences, and will remember only that they are Indians, children of one motherland. As religions begin to recognise themselves but as branches of one tree, they will cease to divide their adherents from one another, and all religions will be sects of one religion, as many tribes make a single nation.

In the past, religion and patriotism have been the two aspects of one thing—loyalty to the State. How good would it be if history would repeat itself, and if in Imperial London, the centre of

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an empire mightier than that of Rome, should rise a group of buildings, the temples of the Hindu and the Buddhist, the fire-temple of the Parsi, the Church of the Christian, the mosque of the Muslim—all religious branches of one religion, and all national patriotism blending into one imperial patriotism.

There is, however, one difficulty in the growth of an Indian nationality. Religious exclusiveness, like the Pan-Islamism or the Pan Christianity, destroys love of the country. It is this exclusiveness that is our enemy and not religion. Religion, says the writer, is the life of the nation. Without it, as history shows, there is no first class literature, art or high morality. When all men see that true religion is knowledge of God and love of Man, and that all religions are but methods of realising this in practice, then in India, as in England, the various religionists shall call themselves branches of the one religion—the Universal Religion of Wisdom—knowledge and love blended together.

As there is one God with many names, there is one India with many sub-races and families. Why then should *Bangla* Hindu and *Bangla* Mahomedan behave as though their interests were opposed, when they both are born of one India and are sons of one motherland? There is no religion which can be cast out of the nation's household. Some of us may think of Christianity as being foreign to India; but that is not so. In the south-west of India there are Christian towns dating from the second century of the Christian era and thus they have an Indian life of 1600 years. They cannot be ostracised or treated as step-children in the house of the Mother. Indeed a nation is the richer, not the poorer, by varieties of thought, and not one jewel should be grudged its place in the necklet that adorns the Mother, whose most ancient possession is the jewel of the religion of the Universal Self. As many peoples must blend here into one nation, so many religions must blend into the One Religion.

With the revival of religion in India has come the spread of a sense of brotherhood, of unity, of nationality. With the growth of religion, nationality has grown. With this more and more will come the spirit of self-sacrifice, the spirit that sacrifices itself as a part to the whole, the only spirit that can make a nation. Love of family grows into love of village; love of village into love of district; love of district into love of province; love of province into love of nation. Aye, and love of nation shall grow into love of humanity, and all religions shall blend one day in a Universal Religion. But as the various religions are still needed, and the next step is to see

FA-HIAN ON BUDDHISTIC RELICS

them as branches of One Religion, so various nations are still needed, and the next step is to see them as branches of Humanity, so that we may love all and hate none. At our stage of evolution, patriotism and nationality are each a necessity, for each nation has to develop its own characteristics, in order that Humanity may show forth a many-sided perfection. The man who is not a patriot, unless he be a great Rishi or Sage, will be no true lover of Humanity. The man who has not evolved the smaller loves cannot really feel the larger. The good father expands into the good citizen; the good citizen into the good provincial leader; the good provincial leader into the good national leader and these, perchance in future lives, to the leaders of Humanity. The great lovers of Humanity love it with a passion such as that with which a mother loves her first-born son. Never then let a man fear that love to his Motherland will prevent him from loving Humanity. It is the road thereto; the heart expands as it is exercised.

Ungrudging love of the Motherland is, then, the thing needed. '*Bande Mataram* ; worship the Mother.' But the writer wants it to be remembered that while patriotism is the flower, service is the fruit, and patriotism must grow into service.

As men of every faith unite in social, civil and political work, they will bring the spirit of religion into all, and work with love and knowledge. Then shall India show the world that a nation may embrace all varieties of thought, and only be the richer for the variety, and from India shall spread that spirit of knowledge and love which blend all nations into one Brotherhood of Humanity, and merge all religions in the Eternal Wisdom.

FA-HIAN ON BUDDHISTIC RELICS

Dr. J. F. Fleet, Ph. D., I. C. S., C. I. E., is one of the most successful antiquarians of the day and his valuable account of *The Tradition about the Corporeal Relics of Buddha*, as contributed to a recent number of the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, is likely to be read with profound interest by all students of Buddhistic literature. The following lines are taken from the article under reference and are related to that portion of the paper which deals with Fa-hian's visit to India between A. D. 399 and 414.

There is no evidence that the Chinese pilgrim visited Allakappa, Vethadipa, and Pava, or that he saw the Stupa erected by the Brahman Drona over the jar.

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He did visit Vaisali, Kapilavastu and Kusinagara. But he does not mention having seen a relic-Stupa of Buddha at any of these three places. Between Ramagrama and Kusinagara, he visited the 'Charcoal Tope,' i.e. Thupa, Stupa or the 'Ashes-tower.' But he has not mentioned the place by the name Pippalivana ; nor has he connected the Mauryas with it. Further he has placed this memorial only twelve *yojanas* away from Kusinagara, on the west. So, also, Hiuen Tsang found it in the same neighbourhood. But this location of this Stupa is hardly consistent with the indication given by the Mahaparinibbana Sutta. The Mauryas of Pippalivana had to be content with the extinguished embers of the funeral fire, because their messenger reached Kusinagara after the distribution of the eight shares into which the corporeal relics of Buddha had been divided, and consequently was too late to assert their claim to a share in those relics. That distinctly suggests that Pippalivana was at some considerable distance from Kusinagara ; further away, at any rate, than Rajagriha, the distance to which is said to have been twenty-five *yojanas*. Taking in connexion with this the statement in the Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king which assigns the 'ashes' and the 'ashes Stupa' to the Mallas of Kusinagara, we can hardly fail to think that the tradition about the embers-Stupa had become corrupted, and that in this case there was shown to Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsang a monument which was not really that which it was supposed to be. At any rate, much as we should like to identify Pippalivana, because we probably have it in the ancestral home of Chandragupta and Asoka, we can by no means agree with those who have held that the place is proved to have been somewhere between Ramagrama and Kusinagara.

Fa-hian visited also Rajagriha. And at this place he saw the 'tope' or 'tower' which Ajatasatru raised over the portion of the corporeal relics of Buddha which he received. He has said of this Stupa, according to Legge, that it was 'high, large, grand, and beautiful,' and, according to Beal, that 'its height is very imposing.' And he has located it 300 paces outside the west gate of 'New Rajagriha—the new city which was built by king Ajatasatru.' This, of course, was Ajatasatru's original Stupa. To Hiuen Tsang there was shown the Stupa over Ajatasatru's collective deposit of all the relics ; the one attributed by Buddhaghosha to Visvakarman which was pulled down and rebuilt by Asoka.

He visited also Lan-mo or Rama or Ramagrama. And in connexion with this place he left on record the following statement :

"The king of this country obtained one share of the relics of

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Buddha's body. On his return home he built a tower, which is the same as the tower of Ramagrama. By the side of it is a tank in which lives a dragon, who constantly guards and protects the tower and worships there morning and night.

"When King Asoka was living he wished to destroy the eight towers and to build 84,000 others. Having destroyed seven, he next proceeded to treat this one in the same way. The dragon therefore assumed a body and conducted the king within his abode and having shown him all the vessels and appliances he used in his religious services, he addressed the king and said : 'If you can worship better than this, then you may destroy the tower. Let me take you out ; I will have no quarrel with you.'

"King Asoka, knowing that these vessels were of no human workmanship, immediately returned to his home."

Fa-hian goes on to say that the place became a desert, over-grown with jungle, and there was no one either to water or to sweep it. But 'ever and anon a herd of elephants carrying water in their trunks piously watered the ground, and also brought all sorts of flowers and perfumes to pay religious worship at the tower.' Also, pilgrims from distant countries used to come to worship at the 'tower.' Some of them took upon themselves the duties of Sramaneras, novices. And they built a temple or a monastery, in which there had continued to be a regular succession of monks, presided over by a Sramanera, up to the time of Fa-hian.

All else, of use, that is found in Fa-hian's work in respect of the tradition under examination is in connexion with his account of Pataliputra. Here he has said : 'King Asoka having destroyed seven of the original pagodas, constructed 84,000 others. The very first which he built is the great tower which stands about three *le* to the south of this city.' So also, when king Asoka destroyed the seven topes, intending to make 84,000, the first which he made was the great tope, more than three *le* to the south of this city.'

OUR PRESENT-DAY POLITICS

Mr. Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta, the reputed translator of Bankim's *Anandamatha*, contributes a trenchant and vigorous article entitled *Politics in Bengal and Elsewhere* to the pages of the *Indian Review* for June. Mr Sen-Gupta writes with a firm hand ; his style is forcible and his arguments clear and convincing. No where do his remarks appear to better advantage than when he deals with the champions

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of the 'new school' whom he characterises as 'blatant braggadocios who are always shouting *work, work*, and doing nothing but talk.'

In the opinion of the writer, these 'advanced thinkers' have not yet hit upon anything new in the way of principles, but they have to some extent attempted to lead in theory some of the time-honoured principles of Indian public life to their natural consequences. Their heart leans ardently on the side of everything that is impracticable. The backbone of their entire creed is the doctrine of self-help and it is to this that 'they affiliate the whole system of truths, half-truths, falsehoods and absurdities.' Mr. Sen-Gupta seems to think, and we concur in his opinion, that there is only a very slight difference between the programme of self-help and that of constitutional agitation. The creed of self-help is no new creed at all and with the programme of the 'self-helpers' they have nothing but sympathy. Now in forming themselves into a party, the new school set itself up in definite opposition to the old, not only in principles and practice, but also very largely in personal relationship. As an organisation, this party was opposed to the older leaders and it was always fired with a personal animosity against them. The besetting evil of the new party, in fact, is this very personal animosity, which makes them look for sinister motives in the actions of the old party people, and the deep-rooted conviction that they are always seeking to suppress them and their principles. Once possessed with this idea, they absolutely spurn all ideas of reconciliation and get themselves to believe that reconciliation is impossible.

The writer thinks that an occasion has arisen when all shilly-shallying with vital principles of public life ought to be given up and a definite stand ought to be made by our leaders. It is idle to be always making overtures of peace to a party who disdain honest and peaceful co-operation and delight to live in an atmosphere of strife. It is unmanly to be forever begging love of people who treat the very profession of love with the utmost contempt. The existence of the new party as a party is based on half-truths, misrepresentations and falsehoods. The fact, according to the writer, has to be squarely faced that reconciliation with the new party is now impossible. If it were really a fight for principles, reconciliation would be possible on mutual understanding; but it is now entirely a fight between persons.

Instead of coquetting with the leaders of the new party, the writer advises our leaders even now to freely recognise the difference of parties and address themselves to the public at large, making a distinct and clear statement of their principles. If this is done, the

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writer thinks that the triumph would be theirs in spite of all that the so-called new leaders might say and do. The people have to be disabused of the idea that the new party is the exponent of any new and estimable ideas ; they have got to be told of the utter hollowness of the party and of their ignoble tactics. Mr. Sen-Gupta, for one, does not for one moment believe that constitutional agitation exhausts all the possibilities of Indian activity, or that the older leaders are pledged to a faith in constitutional agitation alone. The greatest of all things are undoubtedly the organisation of our public life and the building up of a nationality by welding together our common interests and promoting a sense of community in all. Besides these, education, industries, sanitation and local organisation are not unworthy of engaging the attention of our political leaders. The writer deplors the fact that we are not sufficiently careful to assure people that constitutional agitation is anything more than sheer begging. There is need to tell people that constitutional agitation is not exhausted with sending hollow petitions and memorials. We have to convince them that its greatest part consists in educating popular opinion, so that each of our demands may go forth as being backed by the moral force of the entire people which may not be easily flouted even by the greatest man on earth.

In the opinion of the writer, the keeping of the remote contingency of a revolution in the background is really giving the new party a footing which they do not deserve. The great point in the new party that seems to strike the fancy of some people is their seeming courage in saying all sorts of bold things about revolutions. It costs nothing to brag and our new leaders have begun to brag to their best advantage. In this connection, Mr. Sen-Gupta considers that the older leaders should meet them on their own ground, acknowledge revolution as the last resource and show the utter hollowness of the contention that the time is ripe for it or that the necessity for a revolution is anything like coming. Referring to the boycott movement, the writer holds that the people of Bengal have recognised in passive resistance a useful auxiliary of constitutional agitation only if it were possible to make it successful. He does not see any objection to people in all parts of India recognising passive resistance as a legitimate weapon for political purposes, but it should always be regarded as a weapon of which a reckless use must not be made.

INDIAN NATIONALITY

As we summarised the views of the Rev. C. F. Andrews, in connection with the above subject, in a preceding number of the *Indian World*, we think the record will remain incomplete if his 'last words' on the same, as published in the June number of the *Hindustan Review*, are not laid down in these pages. The writer believes most strongly that an *English* Government ought to foster nationality in India to the uttermost, because the whole tradition of English history makes for nationalism, and the greatest mistakes in English history, such as the American War, have been made when this tradition has had to be rejected. He apprehends a great danger of a similar mistake being made in India to-day, because the new spirit of nationality is regarded as a mere fad of a party, while in reality it has gone deep down into the heart of the people of the soil and has become an inextinguishable passion. If, however, this new spirit can show its strength in disciplined and practical energy, it will win the respect of liberal Englishmen, and the mistake of the Eighteenth Century will not be repeated.

The writer cherishes the strongest hope with regard to the future of India. To him far greater encouragement is to be obtained from seeing all the difficulties before him and looking them in the face than from minimising them. He next considers the climatic difficulties and says that no one who reads Indian history can question the fact that the settlement in the Gangetic Plain continually brought physical weakening to the settlers, and that even the hardiest settlers were affected sooner or later. The writer admits that this fact is discouraging at first sight, but there are other things besides physical stamina ; and that intellectual gifts of the highest order had flourished in these regions even when physique was affected. Besides, in this age of hygiene and science there are possibilities of improvement. The Indians have by no means come to the end of their resources in combating climatic conditions. They are rather only just beginning to live in a scientific way. India is not like other tropical countries : it has one invaluable asset which redeems the situation—its glorious hills. But the sad fact remains that up to the present only the foreigner has made full use of them. While there is a line of English and Eurasian schools along the whole range of the Himalayas, there is not one single school there for the sons of Indian gentlemen and the same holds true for Central and Southern Indian Hill Stations.

A great deal might be done to improve the physique of the sons of Indian gentlemen living in the Gangetic Plain and other malarial

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parts of India, by the promotion of Hill Schools. Such favoured conditions of education could only touch the few, but then the few would probably produce leaders, strong in physique and character, and it is leaders that we specially need. The writer has seen with his own eyes the marvellous physical change in a Bengali boy who was living with him last summer in the hills. It is from this practical experience that he is able to realise what may be done by our hill climate. But scientific method would not stop there. Among the main bulk of the population also great improvements may be accomplished. Villages might be drained of marshes or pools which cause malaria : cities and villages might be opened out and made sanitary by some large scheme such as Mr. Gokhale suggested in the Budget Debate. The care of the children of the poor might be supervised in the towns. Physical training could become a primary factor in all school-life. In many such ways gradual advances might be made, and evil climatic conditions minimised. It is not at all an unknown thing in recent history for fever-stricken districts to become healthy through the co-operation of the people in sanitary measures.

The writer again asserts emphatically that he has the strongest hope for the future of Indian nationality. Though at times there may come a repulse, let us believe profoundly in the ultimate issue, and cast off the spirit of *accidie*. In the opinion of Mr. Andrews, we shall do this best, not by sudden outburst of emotion, not by brooding over present troubles, but rather by the noble four-fold path of cheerfulness and fortitude, self-discipline and hope.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT ON THE INDIAN UNREST

Not the least interesting of all the papers to hand by the last mail bearing on the 'Indian Unrest' is the paper on the subject by Sir C. A. Elliott in the June number of the *Empire Review*. The most interesting part of it consists in the recognition by Sir Charles, a bureaucrat of bureaucrats, of the principle that "against the root of the evil, the alienation between governors and the governed, 'force is no remedy'"—a fact which the stalwart Radical Mr. Morley seems to have lost sight of. The concluding words of the article in question breathes a spirit of the most healthful sympathy with India and puts the whole question on the principles of liberalism, from a point of view as far removed as it could be from ours "To restore and perpetuate them (the good relations between the rulers

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and the ruled) is an end which is worth much striving and concessions. What I dread more than anything is the growing up of such a state of feeling as existed between the Austrians and Italians in Lombardy and Venice. The Austrian Government (in its latter days) was just and benevolent, and honestly desired to do its duty by the people, but every effort was paralysed by the general hatred and alienation of the population. I cannot conceive how any well-bred Englishman could tolerate to hold office under such conditions ; or how any of us Anglo-Indians who have known the country under different circumstances could endure to send our sons out to a country where the relations are so strained and changed. The Civil Service must fall into the hands of a lower and worse class of men if its members are, for the sake of salary, to carry on its duties not only under the old drawback to health and family ties, but also under the daily strain of the unspoken curse and the hostile eye, and the refusal of the proffered hand of friendship. There is hardly any cost which it would not be worth while to pay in order to avoid such a consummation as this."

For this frank, fair and full recognition of the real nature of the problem in India at the present hour we are prepared to forgive much of what precedes the extract. The concessions that Sir Charles proposes to give us are very small, and not likely to soothe the daily rising aspirations of New India, but, read in the light of the paragraph above quoted, it would seem that Sir Charles is prepared to go a longer way than indicated in his suggestions only if the old relations between the rulers and the ruled could be restored. At any rate he very fully realises that the present strained relations cannot be cured without a radical remedy, without in short removing the standing grievances of educated India.

In his attempts to gauge the state of public feeling and to find out the root causes of the present unrest, Sir Charles has been very largely successful. In his estimate of the effects of the recent repressive measures he has erred grievously with a large number of officials. "The Governor-General," says he, "exercising the powers conferred by a half-forgotten regulation, ordered the deportation and confinement of two of the most prominent agitators, and, hey presto ! the whole turbulent movement collapsed. The mobs slunk back into retreat, the 'Swadeshi' boycott was wholly or partially removed and the noisy leaders of seditious talk, finding their occupation gone through the prohibition of unlicensed meetings, retired into private life." Is it not rather more probable, as we know to be the fact, that there was something very serious in the condition

of the Punjab, that the Government of the Punjab in fact exaggerated the local disturbances at Rawalpindi and elsewhere out of all proportion and took most drastic measures for repression in a panic, only to find that it was all smoke? If any part of the population of the Punjab were exasperated the way that has been represented and if they had learnt to look up to Lala Lajpat Rai or Ajit Singh as their leaders in a revolutionary propaganda, is it at all likely that the spirited Punjabi would have taken their deportation lying down without one hand being raised to violence in protest? It is because truth lies the other way that all is so quiet up there.

Coming to the sources of the present trouble, Sir Charles hints the nail right on the head when he imputes the unrest, first to the partition of Bengal, and secondly to the craving of educated Indians for a larger share in the Government of their own country. The third cause he assigns viz., "the ill success of our efforts to train Indian youths by a sojourn in England" is not likely to be largely accepted.

In discussing the partition of Bengal Sir Charles holds, while recognising the vast mass of discontent that it has generated, that the measure was quite incommensurate with the results, as a cause of disaffection and that it was indeed a symptom of a pre-existing disaffection rather than a cause. That may very largely be true, it may be true, as Mr. Hyndman says, that "the partition of Bengal was not of any real importance—not a tenth part of the importance of the drain—but it brought home to the people of India the fact that the British Government was a despotism." But all the same it is there, a sore grievance and the bedrock of all the present discontents. Writing in the strain that Sir Charles does, one would expect him to suggest a modification of the partition on lines so often suggested. But Sir Charles prefers to leave the partition alone and seeks to provide remedies for the pre-existing discontent. Englishmen have to be disabused of the idea that, at any rate so far as Bengal is concerned, you can restore the confidence of the people by any amount of concessions unaccompanied by a prompt withdrawal and modification of the partition. If really the "unspoken curse and hostile eye" is dreaded by Englishmen the easiest, surest and the only sure means of restoring confidence of the people and of avoiding that eye is the undoing of the Partition of Bengal.

As to Sir Charles's second cause of discontent, which he undoubtedly correctly fingers as the root cause of the entire mischief,

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we do not think much objection can be taken to it Sir Charles shrewdly observes, "it ought to be made quite clear to them (Indians) that the Government of India does desire to meet these claims (of 'a larger quantity of high offices') and does regard them as natural." And, this can only be done, not by holding up absolutism as the only possible ideal for Government in India, as Mr. Morley has done nor by the repressive measures which, as *The Nation* ably points out, are the necessary corollaries of absolute government, but by initiating reforms with the end clearly kept in view and steadily pursued.

In view of Mr. Morley's recent utterances, it is unnecessary to go to greater lengths with Sir Charles Elliott's proposals for constitutional reforms. Briefly they are, to divide the services into an upper and a lower grade, to increase the dignity and the responsibility of the lower grade, and to introduce judiciously a gradually increasing number of Indians in the higher grade. He also suggests an expansion of the Legislative Councils but does not think that there is any Indian fit for admission to the Executive Council or to the Council of the Secretary of State, for the excellent reason that no Indian has risen to a sufficiently high post in the Civil Service. The fallacy of the whole thing is to suppose that all these offices must needs be a close preserve for officials and the Civil Service. It is just possible, we presume, that there may be lots of wisdom out of the ranks of the Civil Service which assisted by the departmental knowledge of the permanent staff might run the government very creditably.

There is one inaccuracy in Sir Charles's statements on this subject which should, we think, be pointed out. "Every high office in Bengal, except that of Lieutenant-Governor," says he, "has been held by an Indian." But Sir Charles forgets that if it was only recently that Mr. Gupta was made a member of the Board of Revenue, the sacred precincts of the Secretariat has never been trodden by an Indian in Bengal. We challenge Sir Charles to point out any Indian Secretary or Under-Secretary of any department of the Government of Bengal.

Coming to his third point, that Indian students in England are uncared for is unhappily too true, but whether the guardianship of the India Office would do them any good is extremely questionable. Besides such guardianship is sure to be strongly resented by Indians. An independent institute started by Indians with the assistance of our English friends would be very much better.

Before concluding, we must refer to some statements recorded

as facts by Sir Charles Elliott. Boycott of British goods, he says, have been accompanied by "violent ill-treatment" of those who persisted in buying them. "School boys and youths," he says further on, "plunged into riotous excesses and assembled in mobs to defy the police and the magistrates, to assault shop-keepers and plunder the shops where British goods were sold." We challenge Sir Charles Elliott or any body who cares to make such statements to point to any shred of evidence to show that violence has been used, any riots have been initiated, any shop-keeper has been assaulted any shop has been plundered by the promoters of the Swadeshi movement. The fact is that these statements are black lies disseminated by government underlings and certain of our Anglo-Indian journals and it would be absolutely impossible to bring forward any evidence to support it.

Again, he says, 'the leaders,' finding agitation futile in Bengal, "determined to transfer their operations to the warlike people of the Punjab. Secret emissaries were sent among the villages to stir up disaffection and to discourage recruitment for the army." This too is a categorical statement which no responsible man would make without the strictest evidence, and we challenge Sir Charles to adduce any evidence to prove it.

AMIR ALI ON INDIAN DISCONTENT

The meaning of the unrest in India is discussed at length in the *Nineteenth Century*, by Ameer Ali, who was formerly a judge in the High Court of Judicature in Bengal. He points out that in the present condition of the country and the popular frame of mind, the desire to placate may easily be construed into timidity, whilst spasmodic exhibitions of vigour are likely to create the belief that they are dictated by fear. What is needed is a consistent policy, based on a true understanding of the causes of the unrest. Ameer Ali continues :—"It would be folly to advocate the repression of the legitimate impulses of a nation towards a wider expansion of its capacities; it would be equally a folly to neglect the appearance of a new force, which, although owing its birth to Western influences is at this moment peculiarly anti-Western. But it would be more than folly to allow constitutional criticism of the measures of Government, constitutional endeavours for its improvement or reform, to degenerate into seditious exhortations and incitements to revolt, which might involve numberless innocent people in ruin and misery. No Government worth the name can allow liberty to degenerate into licence, to be used as an engine of oppression." Ameer Ali says, however, one thing is certain; no such outburst as the great Mutiny is ever likely to recur. It is not the military resources at the command of the Government which make it impossible; the causes which gave it birth are dead. The only force with which the administrator will have to reckon in the future is the strong nationalistic feeling which so many circumstances have combined to foster and stimulate. He scotchs as "ludicrous" the supposition that the *Swadeshi* movement has any connection, intimate or remote, with the Japanese triumph over Russia.

REVIEW OF INDIAN REVIEWS

The Periodical Press of India

In most countries in the world, the Periodical Press is one of the most decent and dignified institutions known to man. It reflects not only the highest intelligence of a people but maintains the dignity of literature everywhere. But in India unfortunately the Periodical Press has degenerated into a vulgar level and does not concern itself very much with the traditions of literary dignity. Mr. Malabari no doubt conducts *East and West* in an exceptionally dignified style but his example has not been emulated in Madras and the United Provinces. *The Indian Review* of Madras does not consider it undignified to put in a slip over the cover of every number detailing its contents in an appreciative spirit for the benefit of such newspaper-editors in the country who either do not take the Review seriously or have not any members in their staff who can be relied on to take an intelligent notice of it. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha of Allahabad does not certainly add modesty to his many brilliant qualifications, and one is not, therefore, very much surprised to see him devote several pages of one of the editorial sections of the *Hindusthan Review* in reproducing the many kindly things said of it by many a friendly contemporary, notably the *Tribune* of Lahore. Quite a different sort of man is Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, the editor of the *Modern Review*, but he also does not seem to have escaped the vainglorious spirit of the age. Mr. Chatterji evidently believes in the principal theories of the smart set that people generally take you at your own estimation and that blowing your own trumpet always pays. In an advertisement which is now appearing in many newspapers in the country over the name of Mr. Ramananda Chatterji himself, he describes the 'Miscellany' which he edits as 'the best illustrated Review in India.' If Mr. Chatterji's Manager had put in that advertisement or if Mr. Chatterji had quoted some press opinion to that effect, we should have nothing to quarrel with him about. But for an educated and cultured man like Mr. Chatterji to characterise the periodical which he himself edits as the *best*, or the *best illustrated*, Review in the country, betrays a condition of literary taste for which every Indian needs be ashamed. But we hope that this is only a temporary phase of life and that Indian literature of the 20th century will not go down in history associated with vulgar self-adulation.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

The Modern Review

The *Modern Review* for July is on the whole a better number than its preceding issue. It is an historical number, for there are no less than four papers on historical subjects in it. Mr. Jadunath Sarkar leads off the number with a rather detailed account of a little-known episode of Maratha history—Shivaji's surrender to Aurangzebe's general, Jay Singha. In *Plassey*, Mr. Akshaykumar Maitra does not describe the battle but deals with the various side-issues involving the flight of the Nawab's army and the wholesale corruption to which it was due. A recent perusal of Mr. Vincent Smith's "Early History of India" has inspired Sister Nivedita with some doubts about Indian figures and personalities which she puts under the heading of *Some Problems for Indian Research*. *Rajgriha and its Antiquities* is a scrappy summary by Mr. H. P. Mazumdar of the historical remains in Southern Behar—once the centre of Buddhistic culture and activity. Besides these historical subjects, there are some topical questions which are dealt with in the number under notice. X. propounds the impossible scheme of establishing a college which all the talents in the country should join as Professors on insufficient pay. This may be *Swadeshi in Education* but a plank which will not commend itself to the notice of serious politicians or clever educationists. Another anonymous writer, B., takes a hurried survey of the researches of European scholars in the literature of India under the heading of *Sanskrit Scholarship in the West*. This is the second instalment of the article, and the survey is likely to be carried to another number. The problem of the Indian student is well stated by "Oxoniensis," evidently a European Professor who has marked the good points of that 'much-maligned individual.' "Oxoniensis" thinks that the Indian student is 'an admirable material in which to realise great ideas' and that he is 'not naturally malignant or bad-hearted' and he advises him to 'judge himself with the same severity with which he judges others.' In *Is Parliamentary Government Suited to India*, the Editor seeks to refute some of the Anglo-Indian prejudices on the subject and says in effect that most of the European countries where such Government obtains are not better fitted for it than India. The next article is a philosophical paper on *The Pre-Suppositions of Psychology* in which Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhusana proves that 'Psychology is intimately connected with Metaphysics and Theology.' That interminable story of *Savitri* is continued in the number under notice and the end is not yet. Shaik Chilli narrates the folk-tale of the

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Seven Silversmiths after which the Editor has another paper on *The Fighting Races and Castes in India*. In the next paper, Mr. Chatterji allows Mr. Sarat Chandra Das an opportunity to take the world into his confidence with a *Narrative of the Incidents of My Early Life*. If the world does not become any way wiser by a perusal of this 'Narrative,' at least Mr. Chatterji gets the benefit of it in as much as it fills over five pages of his Review. Under the title of *Shakespeare and Nationality*, Rev. C. Andrews makes some apposite quotations from the works of the great English poet to show how *Nationality* must be made up of some of the eternal verities of life. The other two articles are on *Longfellow* and *British Indians in South Africa*. The Editor nearly takes a sixth part of the whole Review with his 'notes' which deal with all subjects connected with Indian politics, economics, art; 'making history' and 'history in the Calcutta University'; Shivaji and Plague; Bhisma and Morley; Bombay Drainage and the Tragedy of Jute, and extracts from Bacon, Rochefoucauld, T. D. Sullivan and Theodore Parker. No one, after this, should ever accuse the Editor of the *Modern Review* of being partial to any particular subject or authority or the *Bengalee* for being 'enamoured' of our Allahabad contemporary.

The Hindustan Review

The first two articles in the above Review for June are summarised elsewhere in these pages. They keep up the prestige of the *Hindusthan Review* as a leading Indian periodical. Mr. Kailas Chandra Kanjilal's article on *The Swadeshi Movement*, though not a very suggestive paper, will amply repay a careful perusal. Mr. Satyavrata Mukerjee contributes from London the second instalment of his *Studies in Bengalee Literature*. The paper under notice deals critically with the *Ballads* of that talented Bengalee lady, Miss Toru Dutt, whose brilliant career ended while she had not yet passed out of her girlhood. The writer has nothing but praise for Toru Dutt and her writings, and his *critique* is mainly based on Gosse's Introduction to her *ballads*. Mr. S. C. Sanial tells the world how Sir William Jones learnt Sanskrit. Mr. V. Ramachandra Aiyar's useful paper on *Common Salt* is followed by the inaugural instalment of Mr. Kisorilal Halder's thoughts on *The Sankhya Doctrine of Evolution*. In the course of the next article Mr. C. Rajagopalachari strongly suggests that 'the infant standards ought to be entrusted to the

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care at least of the teachers we now employ for the secondary forms.' The suggestions are certainly worthy of consideration. Mr. Chuni Lal Mukerjee gives vent to his *Thoughts on Current Events* in very caustic language. We are at a loss to understand how the revised edition of Mr. Keene's *History of India* is noticed as *The Book of the Month*, for it is several months ago that this edition was published

The Indian Review

Mr Naras Chandra Sen-Gupta's vigorous paper, dealing with *Politics in Bengal and Elsewhere*, is by far the most valuable contribution to the June *Indian Review*, though Mr. Glyn Barlow's poem on *Unrest* appears within a floral border and occupies the place of honour in the number under notice. An abstract of Mr. Sen-Gupta's article will be found in its proper place. Mr. Mohananda Gupta, B.A., late Collector of Calcutta, writes with the prentice hand of a scribbler on *The Industrial Idea in Education*. The paper is scrappy and his style is neither forcible nor faultless. An account of *Manilla Hemp* is published under the pseudonym of 'Mercantilist.' Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Fao's article on *The Scotch Hydropathics* has got but little to do with India. Mr. Jambunath Aiyar's researches about the *Social Life Among Spiders* are alike foreign to us. Mr. G. J. Agashe has a portentously long paper which attempts to discuss the question as to whether Rama of epic fame was polygamous. The writer quotes chapter and verse from several Sanskrit works to prove that he was not. As usual 'Rajduari' makes some notes on *Current Events*. We are sorry to say that the number is much below par so far as readable and specially Indian articles are concerned.

THE PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE*

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

Bengal .

The affairs in Bengal were just quieting down after a great hubbub when the full report of Mr. Morley's speech was received in Bengal late last month. It is patent on the face of it that the speech, with its array of concessions which Mr. Morley must have been regarding as quite big, have roused no enthusiasm. As the present Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, aptly observed some time ago that the concessions are more than five years too late and every body who knows India must admit that if they had come two years earlier they would have been hailed with a tremendous uproar of joy and they would have given a new lease of life to the fervent loyalty of Indians. As it is, the reforms have been delayed till, in the words of Mr. Gokhale, they have lost half their efficacy and all their grace. Mr. Morley must have been wondering in his island home why on earth his great generosity has been entirely unappreciated and so must have also Lord Minto. But they forget altogether the great value of time in these matters. In France, as Burke has said, the hand of the Revolutionist was raised against a conceding monarch. In Lombardy and Venice, it was the benevolent intentions of latter-day Austrians that met with the most distressing opposition from an exasperated people. Something like this has also happened in Bengal.

Two years ago Bengal took a great step in its political history. That step is represented by the ill-advised partition of the province. This measure has changed the entire state of affairs in Bengal. The most important part of that change is the total estrangement of the rulers and the ruled accompanied by a total distrust of the officialdom by the people. The reason for it was very largely the way in which the measure was carried into effect, but that is ancient history and

*At the instance of a distinguished officer holding one of the highest posts in the gift of the Crown, this section has been added to *The Indian World* from this number and will form a regular feature of the Review every month. In this issue we regret all the provinces are not represented, but from the next number, we hope, this section will be complete and full. These notes have been entrusted to very competent hands—men who are recognised in their respective provinces as fully qualified to voice the opinion of their people. *ED., J. W.*

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BENGAL)

it does not matter. What really matters is that the feeling is there. Among the public men of Bengal and among the vast mass of intelligent people who are not public men, there is scarcely any one who can confess to a feeling of confidence in the British official. Now when things come to this, and I beg to assure my readers in all sincerity that it has come to this, it is impossible for things to be set right easily even with the best possible intention on the part of the Government. The feeling might be quite irrational but a statesman does not best meet it by sneering at it. He has to meet it quite sympathetically. He must recognise, as Sir Charles Elliott does, that "against the alienation between the governors and the governed, 'force is no remedy.'" "There is hardly any cost," as the same gentleman observes, "which it would not be worth while to pay in order to avoid" the bitter animosity that is fast growing up between the rulers and the ruled.

Speaking for Bengal, the cost that has to be paid would not seem to be very great. Every where, to check discontent, the only thing necessary is to take a step in advance of it. If the concessions are a little ahead of the demand, they ensure immediate collapse of discontent. At any rate they ought to be on a par with them. The only other thing to do is to restore confidence by removing the cause—the act which has given birth to all this irritation. That cause is undoubtedly the partition of Bengal. That ruthless measure has so far shaken the confidence of the Bengalee people in the Government that they cannot see anything good in them. While such feeling lasts no amount of good intentions and no reforms can do any good. In this connection it is interesting to note from the papers to hand by the last few mails that in England it has come to be fairly recognised that the partition is at the root of all this discontent. Everyone, whether a liberal or a Tory, seems to recognise it, though all are not willing to lead this observation on to its legitimate conclusions. The feeling seems to be that if you give political privileges, the partition will cease to do any harm. That is just what it will *not*. And then, the modification suggested by the Bengalees is so simple and so reasonable !

The curtain seems to have dropped on the fourth act of the great tragedy that is now being enacted in Eastern Bengal and some ugly foretaste of the fifth act is given by the judgments in some of the cases issuing out of it. In Comilla a young man connected with Swadesi work was convicted of insulting a police officer with the intent of provoking

The Partition of
Bengal

Eastern-Bengal
Riot Cases

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a breach of the peace. He had to go in for a month's hard labour. On moving the High Court, a rule was obtained, but their Lordships, Stephen and Coxe JJ., refused bail for reasons best known to themselves. The result was that when the rule came on for hearing, the young man had served out his term. Their Lordships, Mitter & Casperz JJ., who heard the rule exculpated the accused from all criminal intention and yet had to discharge the rule. So the Government of E. B. had the pleasure of keeping in jail a man connected with swadesi who has subsequently been found to be innocent by the High Court, simply because of the perversity of the judges in not granting bail. In one of the other cases in Comilla, a man has been ordered to be hanged and two have been transported for life for the death of a young Mussulman. The case is under appeal and I shall refrain from commenting upon it at this stage. But it is worth while to note that the exact amount of the culpability of the Nawab of Dacca and the Magistrate of Comilla for this murder yet remains to be determined. The facts are notorious by this time. The Nawab went to Comilla to conduct a professedly anti-Hindu campaign; he was taken with a triumphal procession; the processionists took into their heads to loot some shops and break some heads, without, it should be remembered, the Nawab raising his little finger to stop the outrage. This was the first provocation. When, after this, some Hindu gentlemen went to the Magistrate for redress, he took the opportunity to read to them a lecture on the folly of their impotent agitation and said in so many words that the swarajists had better look to their own defence. The news got abroad and the patience of the Hindu residents was tried to the utmost by this final provocation. The result was this most unfortunate murder. Now the question may be pertinently asked, who is it that will stand before the justice of God as the real authors of this foul deed?

In connection with this case it is, I hope, no contempt of court to comment on one aspect of the judgment: *viz.*,
 The Judgment in the Comilla Shooting Case that the judge nowhere finds that the man on whom he passes capital sentence was the man who fired the fatal shot. The finding really amounts to this; two men fired shots and it will perhaps never be known who it was that fired the fatal one. Still the judge has thought fit to sentence a particular man to death. There must be something utterly perverse in the learned judge's view of criminal law.

The daily papers are brimful, in the present days, of extracts from judgments in some of the riot cases which go to show that

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the *Swadeshi* or boycott movement had absolutely nothing to do with the recent disturbances in Mymensingh. The *Swadeshi* and the Riots. Some of our enterprising Anglo-Indian dailies had sent out special correspondents to those places, and if they could not get at a connected account of facts, they fabricated basketfuls of theories. Some of these are that the Mussulmans had been exasperated by the *Swadeshi* movement conducted by the Hindus; that they had been molested by what are called "National Volunteers"—a band of young men who are supposed to have been committing all sorts of illegalities for enforcing a boycott of British goods; that further they have been infuriated by the rapacity of the *Hindu* (and not the Moslem) money-lender and by the tyranny of Hindu Zemindars; and lastly, that bands of ruffians have been imported from the Garo Hills to carry fire and sword through the Mahometan villages. The judgments passed in some of the Mymensingh cases clearly find that there was no sort of provocation whatsoever and that the whole thing was the upshot of a mischievous propaganda that has been going on for sometime, for preaching all sorts of anti-Hindu principles and encouraging the idea that the Government and the Nawab of Dacca had between them arranged that a Mussulman committing any outrage on the Hindus would get off scot free. This was a great inducement to the rowdy element of the population to do what their heart most yearned after, and interesting light is thrown on these affairs by the case of a young Moslem who had been molesting a Hindu widow with indecent proposals for sometime and who, on hearing of the rumour, finished his courtship by carrying away the widow by force. That is what is called an anti-swadesi riot.

District Conferences seem to be the most furious rage in Bengal at the present moment. Last month we had a lot of them and the cry is still they come. With the principle of it, we have no quarrel. That is, if we mistake not, that the *work* of the Congress should be carried down to the districts by means of organisations affiliated to it. This was the gist of the Congress resolution on the subject and the Provincial Conference which met at Berhampur the other day passed a resolution embodying the principle. So far it is all right, but what we do not understand in these district conferences is the way they are conducted. As they are, they all look like miniature Congresses where orators harangue on affairs of Imperial concern and, generally, disperse without furthering the work of organisation by one step. Meanwhile, the District Committees are allowed to languish or not

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to come into being at all. The result is that, though we are within a measurable distance of another Congress, we have not been able to form our Provincial Committee yet, far less to show any work. We should really like to see more business out of these Conferences, and quicker work in the direction of organisation. District Conferences are good so long as they are business conferences, quietly dealing with the organisation of political life in the district. There is on the contrary an unhealthy ambition when every one, or nearly every one, is anxious to play the grand in this matter. That is not only not called for, but it is absolutely detrimental to the progress of work.

The figures relating to the imports into the port of Calcutta recently published have features that must needs be gratifying to all swadesists. I donot want to burden my notes with figures, but it will be worthwhile to note that all round our imports have decreased to the tune of 15 lakhs of Rupees. Another very interesting feature is the notable rise in what may comparatively be called raw materials and the decided decrease in finished articles. Yarns, of course have gone up very considerably in respect of low counts as well as of very high counts, the former mainly for feeding the daily developing knitting industry in Bengal and the latter to meet the increased demand for fine yarns to feed the hand-looms. The Collector of Customs frankly confesses that much of the decline is due to the boycott movement though he also puts down a great deal to the credit of high prices in East Bengal. Any how that does not explain the rise in raw materials or the phenomenal fall in cigarettes. The fall in imports of manufactured articles for Bengal alone must have been very much greater than it is shown in the Report for the Bengal imports find their way in great bulk to Behar, Orissa and the North-West. And then raw and manufactured articles are so mixed up in these returns that it is not always possible to say whether the fall is greater than it appears to be. Anyhow, the Report goes to show that we have not after all been as big blatant do-nothings as they would take us to be.

Some time ago an order was passed by the Judges of the High Court permitting and requiring Vakeels to appear in gowns before all courts. The gowns are not the solemn black we have learnt to associate with law, but, so far as the look of it goes, it is a decided improvement on all the many things our vakeels were privileged to wear before this. I donot however quite understand why the Judges should have been so chary of

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BOMBAY)

giving them the black gown, when in fact there is plenty of difference between a vakeel and a barrister in Calcutta.

In treating of this subject one has to point out the fact that in the outgoing vakeel's costume we are going to lose a landmark of our sartorial history and a unique creation of the Bengalee mind. The costume of vakeels in the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut was originally a very cumbersome affair, inherited as it was from the Moghuls, and the *puggree* then worn was not quite the thing worn till now. Later on the *shamla* was introduced, as it was at this time the fashionable headgear. The cumbersome coats were replaced by a simple *chapkan*, which was a characteristic Bengalee adaptation of a Moghul dress worn with a shawl or chadar and a choga. The adoption of this dress by the vakeels of the High Court is associated with the memory of Ramanath Ray, the illustrious son of Raja Ram Mohan Ray and the first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court. This costume is now to go. The *chapkan* stays, but the time-honoured *shamla*, the headgear which decked Raja Rammohan and Dwarkanath, Ram Gopal and Kristo Das, must now go. It was gone already from the world of fashion, and it stuck to the High Court as a relic of ancient times in the professional costume of the Vakeels. But now it departs for good from that quarter also and goes to the limbo of vanishing landmarks. Good-bye !

Geschichtsmacher

BOMBAY

The "great speech" of Mr. Morley has caused severe disappointment and exasperation among the educated community of Western India. The Government of India, according to him, must be "personal and absolute." The educated community are inspired in their political agitation by no higher motives than the attainment of "political influence" and "emoluments of administration," and, consequently, he ignores the various political schools amongst them and damns all alike as "the enemies of England." This theory of government and this attitude towards the educated classes constitute the keynote of his speech, and the reforms adumbrated as well as the principles of administration discussed by Mr. Morley follow as a necessary corollary from that position and it is against it that the brunt of popular criticism is at present directed in this Presidency. Yet cool and sagacious Bombay is prepared to accept without

Mr. Morley's
Budget Speech

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demur the proposed reforms as the first instalment of a liberal programme, which will be gradually unfolded in coming years, consoling herself with the thought that in these times of unrest and agitation, a conservative minister would have withheld them altogether.

A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee is coming off in Bombay about the end of this month. To her central position in the country, Bombay adds the advantage of possessing a serene and unperturbed atmosphere at the present moment. The delay has been caused, not owing to lack of feeling and anxiety over the situation, but the necessity of waiting for the arrival of the full text of the Budget Speeches in the Commons and the personal bereavement of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale owing to the death of his brother at Miraj. What exact solution will be arrived at it is difficult to divine ; but it is expected that, it will be in the direction of a representation to be presented by a deputation of the leaders of the different provinces to the Viceroy at Simla and to the Secretary of State in London. But, more valuable than the actual steps to be taken, will be the full and free discussion by the leaders of the policy which the nation must adopt in the present circumstances of the country.

Synchronous with the Indian Budget day in Parliament came the budget-session of our provincial legislative council. At this meeting of the council, custodians of our public exchequer treated the honourable members to a prosperity budget showing a cheerful balance of about a hundred lacs of rupees, which, according to them, was due as much to the excellent season as to the satisfactory adjustment of provincial contracts, under which the extraordinary burdens of famine-relief were entirely transferred to the imperial exchequer. Our government has, therefore, found an opportunity to increase its grants for education, irrigation and other heads. The man in the street, however, declares his total inability to understand the jugglery of figures. He finds it difficult to reconcile the existence of great prosperity side by side with great misery. He exclaims that the test of the pudding is in the eating and points out the extraordinary phenomenon of the prices of almost all the necessaries of life, food-stuffs, ghee, oils, fire-wood &c., having exceeded the limits of the worst famine years of the present time. The most interesting feature of the debate in the Council was the passage-at-arms between the Hon. Mr. Logan, the Commissioner of Customs, and Sir Perozeshah M. Mehta. In the face of our

PROGRESS OF INDIA (BOMBAY)

popular representatives, he charged them boldly with teaching the ryots to evade payment of land-revenue and to adopt disingenuous ways for dealing with all revenue-authorities. The crushing reply which the doughty champion of the popular cause, Sir P. M. Mehta, gave to Mr. Logan will be long remembered for its boldness and vigour and in the course of this speech he challenged the Commissioner to offer specific acts and instances, and failing them, to give up the ways of the proverbial revenue-officer, who, like the Bourbons of old, "never forgets and never learns."

The Parsees took to the game of cricket earlier than any other people in the Western Presidency and had no difficulty in establishing 'records.' The Hindus came later in the field and soon made up the difference. The Parsees would not look upon this with equanimity, and three years ago the feeling became so intense that it sometimes took the form of riots between the two races on the cricket field. This led to a temporary cessation of their contests. Ultimately, the good sense of both the communities has prevailed and now they emerge out of their field with a further development. The new feature of the game from this year will be a triangular contest between the representative teams of Hindus, Parsees and Europeans, in which the winners of each alternate pair will play with the third for the championship. The mild Hindu has, after all, received his due recognition. But it happens that he has come out triumphantly in the contest with the Europeans in the last two years. It is only to be hoped that the European community have enough sporting spirit in them not to stop these contests by following the advice of a jingo cricketer who once said that the Imperial English race ought not to continue them, as "the moral effect must necessarily be in favour of the native races so as to constitute a political danger."

In his speech at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new building of the New English School in Poona, H. E. the Governor plumed himself upon the circumstance that no resolution on the question of students and politics was necessary in this province, because the students here were very well-behaved and peaceful. If His Excellency had remembered the campaign which the late Director of Public Instruction had commenced, he would have modified his statement a little. However, the contrast is truly suggestive. There have directly arisen no unpopular measures of government here to rouse the juvenile population into fury. The majority of public

Sporting Competi-
tion and Political
Danger

Students and
Politics

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leaders on this side of India do not also look for any direct help in their political activity from young men. Moreover, the boys of this province are derived from a more heterogenous class of people than in the other provinces. Again, the bulk of them come from the essentially commercial classes who are generally averse to idle demonstrations of youthful enthusiasm. All these have contributed to the happy state of things for which H. E. the Governor congratulates himself. Well, let us wait and see how long may run on these lines.

When the principal of a leading college in the Deccan goes out of his way to preach against our popular aspirations, the spirit of Anglo-Indian Imperialism must be considered to have reached a deplorable stage indeed. In his speech at the Selby memorial meeting in Poona, Principal Bain of the Deccan College is reported to have observed that "if your Dadabhais, Dutts, and Banerjees, had made a proper study of comparative history, they would not be preaching the cants of poverty of India as they are doing." This roused the ire of our veteran champion, Sir Peroezshah Mehta, who was in the chair and who answered by saying that these writers had studied history from the comparative standpoint as few had done and that if Principal Bain really thought as he expressed, he had either not read their works or not have understood them at all. Who that has perused the works of the late Mr. Justice Ranade will not bear out the observations of Sir P. M. Mehta? Principal Bain added that it was the agitation of the doctrinaires that led to the revolution in France owing to its dangerous effects on the unthinking masses, thus conveying a lesson to the popular leaders, lest their conduct be held responsible for having set a conflagration in the land. The best rejoinder to this insinuation would have been, that, as the majority of historians on the French Revolution maintain, it was the unsympathetic, selfish and high-handed conduct of the Nobles, Bishops and the titled heads who were the sole repositories of monopolistic power that were really responsible for driving the people to the last stage of rebellion. If professors teach such one-sided lessons of history in the classroom as Mr. Bain has given us an earnest of, they ought to be the last persons in the world to be entrusted with the privilege of moulding the opinions of the youth of any country. How far-reaching are the workings of imperialistic Jingoism!

The most important event of the month in Bombay is the resignation of Lord Lamington on account of the continued illness of Lady Lamington in England.

Lord Lamington
Resigns

PROGRESS OF INDIA (PUNJAB)

Lord Lamington was one of the most sympathetic and popular Governors that Bombay ever had and the feeling of regret at his resignation is almost universal. Sir Sydenham Clarke, who has been announced to succeed Lord Lamington, will have to work hard and with great caution to maintain the popularity which the outgoing Governor has earned for the Bombay administration.

Bird's Eye

THE PUNJAB

Sedition and Riots, Deportations and Prosecutions, Police Terrors and Repression—these words convey the sum total of the mental engrossments of the Panjabi during the last two months. It was the 2nd of May on which date the Rawalpindi arrests were made, and the 9th of that month revealed to a startled world that the Government of India concealed behind their “benevolent despotism” the harshest instruments of repression which might be called into requisition on the flimsiest excuse of necessity; yet, instead of these measures contributing at all to produce a quietening effect on the popular discontent, the fire has kept burning steadier and steadier, while fresh cases of prosecution for riots and sedition have kept it supplied with fuel. Politically, all business may be said to be at a standstill in the Province, not only among the people, but also in the programme of the Government, unless there are secret hatchings going on of which the former have no knowledge. The people can neither protest nor even dare express sympathy with fellowmen whom they consider to be harshly treated, while the Government, after giving up the two measures which caused the greatest dissatisfaction—the Canal Rates Enhancement and the Colonisation Act—have not yet been able to make up their minds what course to follow for carrying on their administrative plans and bringing back the lost confidence of the people. Perhaps the return of Sir Denzil Ibbetson is awaited to give matters a turn. In the meantime, notwithstanding loyalty-manifestoes and garden parties meant to make closer the relations between the rulers and the ruled, the outsider coming into the Panjab cannot but feel that there is something choking in the present atmosphere of the Province; that people do not care to talk, write, laugh and move about as they would under normal circumstances; that there is, as it were, a break in their current of thought and a listlessness in their

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movements ; that nobody dares or cares to think what the future has in store for him or for his country ; and that there is a chasm opened up between the rulers and the ruled which seems to say, " Go you this way and you that, never shall you meet each other again."

The general belief is that the atmosphere will not be cleared until the several cases now going on in the courts have been disposed of and the results are such as to restore the confidence of the people in the Government's justice and good intentions which has been shaken to the very roots. Not that any reasonable man expects a wholesale acquittal of the accused—though such a measure of amnesty would not be altogether out of place after certain recent phases of terrorism—but the extenuating circumstances in most of the cases are of such a nature that the arm of the law would be strengthened rather than weakened if it took account of them and dealt with the prisoners mildly. As to the five lawyers who form the principal accused at Rawalpindi, none excepting their personal enemies can be made to believe that they were conducting anything but a perfectly lawful agitation against certain very grave scandals. Nor does anyone doubt that it was by reason of their earnestness and consciousness of honesty that they placed themselves in circumstances which got them into trouble. The public in the Panjab, as well as outside of it, therefore felt very much relieved, and disposed to thank the Government, even under the present tension of mutual relations, when there were rumours of a peaceful ending of the trial by the withdrawal of the prosecution against Lala Hans Raj and his four principal co-defendants. It was believed that such a withdrawal would be the prelude to taking a lenient view of the guilt of the accused as a body, treating the matter as a case of *bona fide* political agitation led by unforeseen circumstances into exceeding the limits of law, and not as a pre-meditated attempt to defy the law and the authorities. This is the only sane view of the affair to take, for the Government should not ignore the fact that but for certain very indiscreet actions of Mr. Agnew, the District Magistrate of Rawalpindi, the world would not have heard of the disturbance of the 2nd May at all. Nor should it be forgotten that certain measures of their own, against which the people had offered timely and constitutional protest by every manner of means, but which were unheeded and despised as popular representations generally are by the self-sufficient bureaucracy, had done their best to irritate public feeling to the point of explosion.

PROGRESS OF INDIA (PUNJAB)

A great deal is now being made of Mahomedan loyalty as against Hindu sedition, but the fact is conveniently forgotten that the whole agitation has been in the interests of Mahomedan agriculturists, who formed about 90 per cent., of the aggrieved and who threw themselves heart and soul into it along with their more enlightened co-religionists of the cities. Indeed, the first draft of the memorial to Government adopted by the Lyallpore meeting, at which Lala Lajpat Rai is said to have made his seditious speech, was prepared by a leading Muhammadan Barrister of Lahore who has since figured prominently in Loyalist meetings. When, however, the time of trial and trouble came, only a number of Hindus who had put themselves forward, never dreaming that they would be so shabbily left in the lurch, were spotted, and subsequent events have shown that the prosecutions both at Rawalpindi and Lahore have been mainly propped up with the help of Mahammadans. The Muhammadan gentlemen of light and leading have not so much as turned a glance of pity on their former associates, not to speak of exercising any influence upon their less educated co-religionists so that, at any rate, men who wanted to do them good, and by whose efforts and sufferings they have actually benefited, might not be given the treatment of criminals. But why speak of Muhammedans alone? Even the Hindu leaders have been so demoralised that they dare not make the slightest effort for their brothers in distress, whom they know to be men above suspicion, lest such efforts should be construed by the powers into an expression of sympathy on behalf of those whom they (the authorities) hold in disfavour. It is generally admitted that the course of the Rawalpindi trial, many a strange proceeding in connection with which is being brought to light, would have been very different if, as was suggested in certain quarters, a public subscription had been raised and the services of Counsel like Messrs. Jackson and Norton had been engaged. The Police of Rawalpindi would in that case have been more careful in handling their evidence, and things would not have been allowed in court such as have now become the scandal of the country.

From the Rawalpindi to the Lahore cases there is no transitional step, for they all form part of one great chain of a crusade against sedition and riots. Nobody would have heard of these cases if the affairs of Rawalpindi had not turned the attention of the authorities rather sharply upon Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, who had hitherto been carrying on their

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respective lecturing propaganda unnoted, aye, even unnoticed by the high-placed powers living in their own separate world—and if the deportation of these two men had not made the structure of a widespread and organised conspiracy necessary to be built up. The journal *India* had been distributing its "sedition" ever since it was started some months back, and even the terrible manifesto to the Sepoys had been circulated some weeks previously without attracting any very great public notice. The so-called Lahore riot of the 16th April and the loyalist demonstrations that followed it had begun to be forgotten, and it was even on the cards that the half-a-dozen or so men arrested in connection with it, and out on bail, were to be discharged. All of a sudden, however, Pindi Das was arrested at his native place of Gujranwalla, although his paper had ceased to be issued since he got a warning from the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore immediately after the deportation, while fresh arrests were taken up with vigour in connection with the disturbance of the 16th April. In opening the case against Pindi Das, the Crown Prosecutor, Mr Petman, made the sensational announcement of the discovery of a great conspiracy, and this was followed by the arrest of Lala Dinanath, Editor of the *Hindustan*, the largest circulated vernacular weekly in the Province. That the riot and *India* and *Hindusthan* cases have been tried together by the same special Magistrate is, it is believed, intended to convey the idea of a gigantic conspiracy, and the names of Lala Lajpat Rai and the *Panjabee* have been several times sought to be dragged into the proceedings by the learned Crown Prosecutor. Be it noted that in these cases as well as in that of Rawalpindi, Mahomedans of low class have formed the main body of witnesses. The results of the cases are expected to be announced by Mr. Boyd, the trying Magistrate by the 27th July. In the meantime people are wondering why the Government has tried to make out such a strong case against the Editor of the *Hindusthan*, in respect of whom many respectable witnesses deposed that he had nothing to do with the management of the press which is alleged to have printed the seditious manifesto, while no steps have been taken against the Mahomedan proprietor of the *Watan* Press, which, according to evidence brought out in the trial, printed *India* regularly for some time, and Mr. Petman in his summing up said that there was not a single issue of the paper which did not contain rank sedition.

No sensible person will attempt to say anything in extenuation of the offence of circulating a document like the manifesto to

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The Moral of it the sepoys with which the Editor of *India* is charged, and which Lala Dinanath of the *Hindusthan* is alleged to have abetted by printing the issue in question in his press. But the question may well be asked how could a mere boy like Pindi Das come to have conceived such a bold idea, and how is it that his paper became so immensely popular with the masses in the course of a few weeks ? Ajit Singh and Pindi Das have been a nine days' wonder in Lahore, and their propaganda caught on so well with the populace simply because *anything against the Government tickles the popular fancy* ; and the more outspoken it is the better does it take. But the Government will not either recognise or admit this fact, and will go on insisting that it is only some mischievous people who are creating disaffection and punishing people who have only ministered to a popular taste. In doing so, however, the authorities are only knocking their heads at the threshold of disaffection, the entire inner apartments of discontent remaining a sealed book to them. The fact is that the successful agitation of Ajit Singh, the sudden popularity of *India*, the readiness of the populace to believe in stories of Government poisoning wells *and their unwillingness to be disabused*—all point to the fact that the Government's reputation has come to acquire a very bad odour in the nostrils of the masses for some reason or other which cannot be laid at the door of the educated community, whose agitation has always been entirely of a different complexion.

Amicus

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF JUNE

1907

Date.

1. The London *Times* in a leader attributes the 'Sedition' in India to secular education which does not take count of the formation of moral character.
2. Ajit Singh is captured at Amritsar.
3. Information is received at Simla that the Secretary of State has sanctioned the reorganisation of the P. W. Accounts Department. Heavy rainfall in Bombay attended by a violent wind. An important resolution dated June 3rd is published by the Government of India empowering local governments to prosecute seditious newspapers.
5. At a public meeting held at Cocanada under the presidency of the Honble Mr. K. Perraju resolutions are passed strongly deprecating the late disturbance there.
6. The Indian Budget is discussed in the House of Commons when Mr. Morley described the Indian unrest, defends the deportations calls the educated Indians 'our enemies' and promises three reforms. The Madras Provincial Conference opens at Vizagapatam.
7. The Railway Administration Report for 1906 is published at Simla.
8. In the Tarakandi Looting Case Mymensingh 36 accused are convicted and punished.
10. Some villages are completely under flood near Brahmanbaria and Habiganj.
11. The *Arya Samaj* leaders announce in the Lahore dailies that the Samaj is in no way connected with political agitation.
12. Punitive Police is quartered at Cocanada for two years at the cost of the inhabitants. A dozen young boys and Maulvie Leakat Hossain are arrested at Barrisal.
13. An extensive Blue Book containing the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture in India is published this day.
14. In the Commons Mr. Morley declines to be the instrument of disseminating malicious incitements to revolt and refuses to answer further questions on the same.
15. The coolies of Cocanada are under strike.
17. The Amritsar district is proclaimed under the Meetings Ordinance. The Editor of the *Hindusthan* newspaper is arrested and handcuffed at Lahore.
18. Violent rain-fall in Lucknow and in Bombay.
20. A smart shock of earthquake at Simla.
23. Violent rainfall in Calcutta and the Suburbs.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

English newspapers for the last twelve weeks or more have been full of what they call the 'Indian Unrest' and one finds a surprising unanimity in the trend of their opinion. Whig or Tory, all newspapers in the United Kingdom strike a common note, none ever inquiring if half the alarmist news cabled home from India are true or not. Reading these newspaper comments one is tempted to cry out 'hopeless,'—hopeless indeed for a ruling people to administer successfully the affairs of an alien country about which there prevails a colossal ignorance even among men who are supposed to inform and guide public opinion.

How is it that Indian affairs are never considered in the English Press in their true perspective and that all Indian news have the knack of getting hundredfold magnified as soon as they are handled for transmission across the seas? We are not speaking of the news supplied by journals of the *Daily Mail* type, whose veracity has many times been brought into question by respectable publicists both in India and in England. We speak with reference to news catered by high-class newspapers like *The Times*, *The Standard*, *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Chronicle* and such other journals. Of course, sensational news pays in every country and England is no exception. But sensational news that disturb the peace of nations, strain the relation between one country and another and widens the gulf that exists between the rulers and the ruled in any part of the world are purveyed at very dear price. In the particular case we have in view, it may cost England nothing to publish all sorts of sensational cablegrams to rouse the English people to indignation, but it costs a great deal to the Indian people and the progress of Indian administration.

The news that have recently appeared in the English papers about India are mostly of an alarmist kind. They have got up in England an Indian 'unrest' and would have the English people believe that the sedition-cobra has raised its hood in India against the English,—as forcibly expressed in the cartoon which we reproduce elsewhere from the *Punch*. It is a pity that *Mr. Punch* should mistake a toy snake for a live cobra as our cartoonist pointedly draws attention to and incite the English people to repress the Indian. Englishmen always forget the scale and get out of focus when they come to deal with Indian affairs and more often than not they mistake the smoke of the kettle for the lava of the volcano. We must not be understood to say that there is no feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent in the country—there is *enough* of it but to that also we shall refer later on. The English newspapers categorically tell us that high education instead of being a blessing has turned out a curse in India, that a secular education which does not take count of the formation of moral character engenders sedition, that the 'Babus' are getting out of hand and spreading disaffection all throughout the land, that a class of agitators have grown in India

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who loudly cry for the loaves and fishes of office and demand a large number of posts for which they are not fitted, that the prestige of the British official has been reduced to the minimum and that European life is not quite safe in mofussil stations. All this is a long catalogue to be sure, but every one of the items, however controvertible, is served by the London editor *cum grano salis* for the delectation of English readers.

It is worth while to enquire the genesis and ethics of this chapter of exaggeration. Since the Delhi Durbar of 1902, an army of English Press correspondents have begun to tour in India during the cold weather. These Press correspondents live, move, and have their being out in India among Anglo-Indian officials and are inspired by all their passions and prejudices. Besides these cold-weather journalists, there are men in the staff of several Anglo-Indian newspapers in the country who act as correspondents to several leading London papers. These men bear an unconquerable hatred against the educated Indians and lose no opportunity in running them down, out of motives of self-interest only. These irresponsible scribes do not care either for truth or the maintenance of the reign of law and order in the country. All that they care for is upholding the prestige of the Indian bureaucracy with which they come into intimate contact and with whose interests they become fully identified for social and racial considerations. These newspapermen seem to think that the 'Babus' must be suppressed, that political agitation should not be allowed to spread, that high education should be stopped and that the aspirations of the educated Indians should be nipped in the bud. The Anglo-Indian officials seem to think just the same way, but the responsibility of office do not permit them to speak out, though some times, most regrettably, some valiant I. C. S's are found rushing into print. It is through these 'dogs of war'—the rabid correspondents of the English Press—that the Indian bureaucracy finds it convenient to pour out all its venom against the educated Indian.

Every European who has lived in India for more than the average period of exile now feel that there has been a considerable stirring up of dry bones in the Asiatic continent, that the white peoples have lost the respect and the esteem of the black and the yellow peoples, and that the only way to put off the evil day is to keep the natives at arm's length. That's the shibboleth of the average Anglo-Indian and every fresh arrival in India begins to subscribe to it on his landing. It is pity it is true but few people in the world can rise above racial prejudices.

We shall recapitulate the points brought out in the previous paragraphs: the man on the spot finds himself in deadly conflict with the educated Indian; their popularity and prestige run in inverse ratio. The man on the spot, like a drowning man clutching at a straw, has found a very useful friend in the correspondents who manufactures and exaggerates all sorts of news to the prejudice of the educated Indian and cable them home. These are, in turn, printed with flamboyant head-lines and commented upon at prodigious length by the editors of most of the London and provincial papers. All these are swallowed up by the man in the street who ultimately has the supreme hand in the governance of the Empire.

That's a problem which we invite the ruler as well as the ruled

"The Indian Unrest"
As Viewed by the English Press



THE INDIAN SECRETARY BIRD
Mr. Morley puts his foot on Sedition in India

The Indian Unrest—as Viewed by the Indian People



THE INDIAN SECRETARY BIRD—DUPED

Mr. Morley throttles Peace, Progress and Liberty in India (with apologies to Mr. Punch)

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

to study and solve. If the average British elector will derive all his knowledge of India from newspaper correspondents who from the moment of their landing in this country to the hour of their departure from our shores enjoy the friendship and hospitality of Anglo-Indian officials and their people and if the British Parliament and the Secretary of State for India will trust no other informations excepting those supplied by the men on the spot,—India will never be *better* governed than now.

Now the questions which arise upon this situation are : will the British elector ever care to study India and her problems at first hand ? Will the man in the street in England ever try to get at the real truth of the Indian administration or the condition of the people of India ? Will the Indian Secretary ever be a man who will have a reliable and accurate first-hand knowledge of India and her multitudinous races ? So far as our imagination and vision can pierce, we cannot think of such a day ever coming ; and if there will be no better understanding between the two countries, can India be governed for any length of time in the way it is being done at present ?

Many Englishmen have written many books on India but no one has attacked this problem. The situation hitherto has not been sufficiently anxious to demand a careful handling of the question. England has so long remained satisfied with her men on the spot because the Indians have till recently allowed them to administer the affairs of this country as best as they pleased. Now, the situation has changed. The conception of the Oriental as a passive being who has nothing to do with the laws of his land but to obey them or with the taxes except to pay them is fast disappearing. There is to-day a great pan-Asiatic movement the waves of which do not beat against our shores in vain ; the process of nation-building has gone on successfully for years in this ancient land and a new awakening has overtaken our people almost in spite of us. The fatalistic spell which the white race once wove round the Oriental mind has been broken for good ; and in the Asiatic continent there is not a beggar living to-day who would do honour to an European because of the colour of his skin.

Under such altered circumstances, will England *not* change her attitude towards the Indian people and the system of government that still obtains in this country ? Mr. Morley's master and *Guru*, John Stuart Mill, could not by any prescience anticipate the helplessness of the present situation in India. The government of one country by another is always a most difficult experiment and an experiment which has seldom succeeded in history. No blame, therefore, attaches to the memory of Mr. J. S. Mill for his having failed to consider the developments which have taken place in India since his death and which have surprised Europe and are hailed with delight throughout Asia.

There are several theories about the government of India which still find popular credence in England. One class, led by a combine of the *Jingo Press*, think that 'might' is the greatest argument in the world and that India having been conquered by the sword must be also maintained by the sword. A second class, headed by Mr. Morley and Lord Curzon, think that personal or autocratic

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rule is the government best suited for India—the higher grades of all the services in the State being of course manned by Europeans. There is a third class of men who appreciate the enormous difficulties of governing an alien people several thousands of miles beyond the seas and believe that it were time to extend to India some form, no matter if it is only an apology, of popular government.

Against the first class of opinion all that we need urge is that force is no remedy for discontent and it is always a bad substitute for logic, and that there are times in the history of all nations when brandishing up of arms holds out no terror. The second class do not reckon with the progress of democracy in the world, the force of the Indian awakening, and the growing 'refrigeration' between the rulers and the ruled. They talk big and loud about 'righteousness' and 'sympathy' and urge the necessity of "getting into the skin" of the Indian—the Indian that tills the soil—to ensure the 'efficiency' of the administration, conveniently forgetting that these things are quite out of tune with 'absolute rule' and 'benevolent despotism.' The third class anticipate that one day or other India is bound to slip out of the grip of England, if not as the result of an Indian rising, at least at the crest of a pan-Asiatic movement. They urge, therefore, that if it were possible to establish in India a sort of a composite patriotism in which the Englishman and the Indian would alike have an opportunity of taking an active part, then England's interest in the East might to a great extent be safeguarded and insured.

We have no space to enter into any controversy with any class of theorists mentioned above, but the first principles of the problem need to be pointed out clearly and boldly. If England means to rule India *seriously*, she must be prepared to know this country *carefully*. It strikes one as a matter of great surprise that among the first-rate statesmen of England to-day, there is not a single man who has studied India and her problems at first-hand, Sir Charles Dilke excepted. Even Secretaries of State for India lightly enter into the responsibilities of their office without knowing much of this country. The other day a beautiful story went round the Press about Lord Middleton's (then Mr. Brodrick's) inability to find out Dacca in the map of India when he was about to sanction the partition of Bengal. By no manner of schooling can the British elector be made to understand the essentials of the Indian problem or what Mr. Morley describes as 'the difficulties, the complexities, the subtleties and the enormous magnitude of the Government of India.' He has already his hand in too many pies and cannot afford to take up India in addition. As for M. P's, so far as we have been able to study the history of the English Parliament, a day will *never* come when they will ever know much of India or care much for it, even if India sends out a score of members to St. Stephens and establish half-a-dozen journals in England and subsidise four times as many English newspapers for the diffusion of *correct* news about India. The curt refusal of a Radical Premier to allow an extra day in a year of 'grave anxiety' for the discussion of Indian affairs is a sufficient proof of the interest taken by Parliament in the government of India. There is absolutely no chance of things very much improving in the future, if the constitution of the British Parliament is not to undergo a radical change in the meantime.

Indeed, there is *no* hope for India if things are allowed to

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

drift and no improvement takes place in the situation in the immediate future. There is no denying the fact that there is considerable dissatisfaction and discontent in India at the present day, for there are a number of grievances which have touched our people on the raw. The masses complain that the Europeans do not treat them as human beings ; the educated classes grieve that their opinion is *always* flouted. The Government of India, who are the principal offenders in the matter and the defenders of all erring administrators, have the ear of the Secretary of State for India who has no sufficient knowledge of India to hold the scales even. The result is that the man on the spot is always supported by the Secretary of State, and the party in power in the House always supports its Secretary of State.

Truly does a writer in *The Nation* (of London) observe :—

"The supreme chief of a despotism is necessarily the subject of the lowest official who happens to be nearest to the scene of disturbance. A bureaucracy must support its own servants, for it has no one to rely upon outside them. Still less can a Secretary of State, responsible to this country for the maintenance of order in a distant dependency, ignore the warnings of the men who are actually administering that dependency. When the responsible official warns his superior that grave disorders will follow if strong action is not taken, when he represents that unless one man is deported to-day, the soldiers will perhaps be shooting upon thirty or forty men next week, he virtually leaves his superior no choice. There are no tested channels of information by which his advice can be checked. There is no external authority to whom to appeal. The acting administrator, nominally servant, is in reality the master of the situation."

But so long as the constitution of the Empire is not changed, Indian affairs will never be *better* administrated, whether the Liberal or the Conservative party be in office in England. So long as the Imperial Parliament keeps in its hands the administration of India and delegates its sovereign power to a Secretary of State and Viceroy who, on their turn, delegate their powers to provincial governors and administrators, and so on till the end of the chapter, so long a strong bureaucracy is bound to hold sway in India.

The English bureaucracy has already become the most unsympathetic form of government ever known in the history of India. The writer in *The Nation* whom we have quoted above says of it —

"Be it as good as it may, our Indian Government is a sheer bureaucracy, resting upon the sword ; a bureaucracy as autocratic as that of Russia, as independent of the will of the governed, less indifferent, no doubt, to their likes and dislikes, but even more alien to their minds "

"The characteristic defect of every bureaucracy is its inability to adapt itself to intellectual and moral changes, and the result of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty has been to re-establish the Indian Civil Service on thoroughly conservative lines, at the moment when a new departure was called for."

Bureaucracy and personal rule, autocracy and benevolent despotism have all been tried in India one time or another and all been found grievously wanting to meet the requirements of a sympathetic and progressive administration and the aspirations of a re-awakened population.

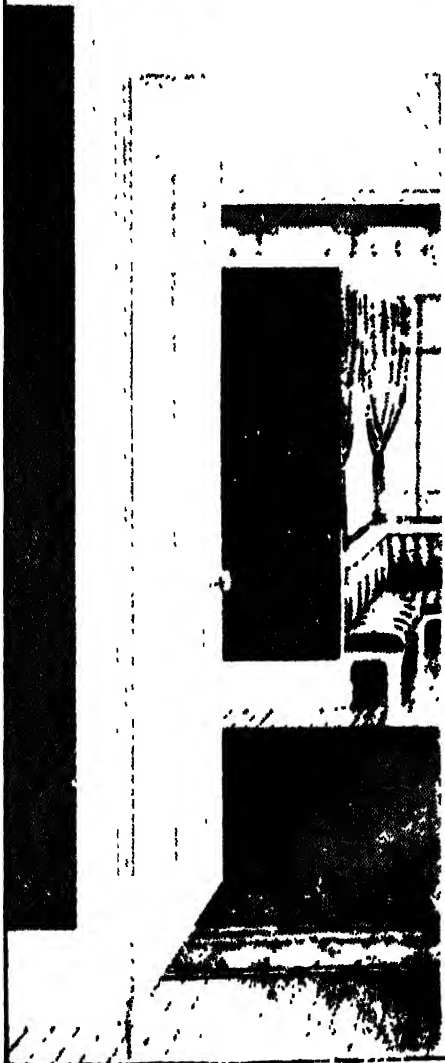
The only solution of the problem appears to us to be the establishment of a Parliament under the aegis of the British Crown where all the nationalities in India will find scope for expansion and development, each according to its progress in civilisation, the interests of small communities being safeguarded under special provisions. This will make the government of India independent of ignorant or snatch

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votes in the House of Commons or the apathy of the British elector. This will also reduce the position of the man on the spot from the master of the situation to the servant of the public. This will satisfy Indian ambition and remove Indian discontent without snapping the connection between the two countries. As for the proposition that democratic or popular governments do not suit an Eastern country, it is too silly to be seriously entertained. No human institution has ever been the monopoly of any people or the peculiar growth of any climate. Nor would history substantiate the proposition in question.

Taking, therefore, every point into consideration, the best way out of the Indian difficulty would seem to be for England to grant a Parliament to India and for India to accept it cheerfully and build it up into an alert institution by devotion, discipline and self-sacrifice.

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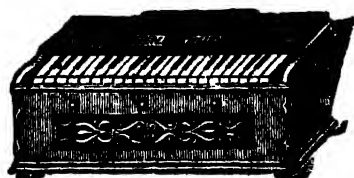
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